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REVIEWS

Editorial

Political Challenges and Applied Linguistics

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> Whenever and wherever the pressures of "modernization"--secularity, urbanization, the growing importance of science--have become unusually intense, episodes of revivalism and culture-issue politics have swept over the social landscape.
>
> Walter Dean Burnham
> *Post-Conservative America*

The resurgence of a conservative voice in educational and cultural debates that began during the Reagan era and escalated recently in the Bush presidency has fueled a fiery public colloquy among educators and intellectuals. These debates have been particularly crucial and urgent for newly emerging interdisciplinary endeavors within anthropological, cultural, feminist, historical, legal, linguistic, and literary domains as well as for critical thinkers concerned with issues of curricula, pedagogy, multiculturalism, and internationalism.

One such debate, on "The Changing Culture of the University," was held by the *Partisan Review* at Boston University recently. Invited to the conference, according to Kurzweil (1991), were "'liberals,' 'leftists,' 'neoconservatives,' 'conservatives,' and 'critical thinkers'" (p. 185). Despite this spectrum of perspectives, the conference especially provided conservatives like Nathan Glazer (editor of *The Public Interest*), Hilton Kramer (editor of *The New Criterion*) and Cleanth Brooks (the venerable New Critic) the opportunity to reinforce their deeply-embedded view of the "crisis in education," champion the so-called virtues of "Western Civilization

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courses," and aggressively argue that more inclusive curricula, multiculturalism, and critical pedagogy are merely attempts at liberal social therapy within a relativistic discourse of pluralism and "politically correct" ideology.

Surprisingly, such debates have remained on the margins of applied linguistics, by and large, and, therefore, have not engaged our field's central attention, though their ramifications could dramatically influence several areas of inquiry and practice such as language pedagogy and language planning and policy. The few published discussions that have appeared recently, however, include Cummins's (1989) focus on "empowerment of minority students," Peirce's (1989) "pedagogy of possibility," Pennycook's (1989, 1990) "politics of language teaching" and "critical applied linguistics," Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas's (1986) "the gospel of international English," and Tollefson's (1991) "planning language policy and inequality." In addition, at the 1991 AAAL conference, some of these and other related concerns were touched upon in plenary talks given by Kramsch (1991) and Cazden (1991) as well as by presenters in lesser attended sessions on Language and Society, Language and Gender, Community Interpreting, and Setting and Context in Applied Linguistics Research.

These diverse but resonating views, among others, are generally in opposition to the conservative stance which rang out at the *Partisan Review* conference and which is heard from other conservatives like Bloom (1987) and, more recently, D'Souza (1991). Collectively, however, all these authors should remind us that traditional educational theory and practice within applied linguistics needs to be analyzed critically for its political and possible hegemonic interests. More specifically, the implications of these views make it clear that it is crucial for applied linguists to take a principled stand with regard to concerns such as the education and empowerment of disadvantaged and minority groups, the English Only Movement, bilingualism, banned languages and their maintenance, and refugee and teacher education.

Giroux (1989) presents persuasive thoughts on why educators should develop a pedagogy that would challenge existing political, social, and cultural structures. He exhorts educators to use a deconstructive practice that

> uncovers rather than suppresses the complex histories, interests, and experiences that make up the diverse voices. . . . In this view, there is an attempt to uncover and reconstitute the suppressed histories and voices of subordinate groups in

> order to restore and affirm the legacy and unrealized potential of the forms of subjectivity, agency, and experience characteristic of such groups. (p. 147)

Such an approach, to be sure, can be unsettling, for it forces us to come face to face with the tacit assumptions underlying everything we do in the name of applied linguistics. But it can therefore open the way for reassessment and redirection of applied linguistics research, theory, and practice.

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In this first issue of the second volume of *Issues in Applied Linguistics*, the lead article, by Mohamed Daoud, is an example of how language planning policy can be analyzed by the deconstructivist practice, in that Daoud uncovers the complex histories of political and social power which underlie official language policy in Tunisia. Daoud shows how influential elites have promoted a dual policy of bilingualism (Arabic and French) and biculturalism (Arab-Islamic and French-Western European) despite the official rhetoric of "Arabization" as the key to national cohesion and independence. His analysis raises issues for language policy not only in post-colonial countries but also in "first world" societies where the official rhetoric claims to respect multicultural diversity.

The second main article in this issue, by James Dean Brown, is a report of research carried out to assess the performance of students of limited English proficiency (SLEP) on the Hawaii State Minimal Competency Test, given to native-speakers and nonnative-speakers of English alike. While Brown found differences in the performances between the SLEP group and the norm group, he found no significant differences in terms of ethnicity among the subjects in the study. Brown's research raises many questions about competency testing that have political, social, and cultural implications which applied linguists ought to address in the future.

Vaidehi Ramanathan's investigation of coherence in a play by American playwright Sam Shepard is the third main article in this issue. By applying a "frame analysis" approach to excerpts from the one-act play *Fool for Love*, Ramanathan shows how social roles and activities can be seen to contribute to the linguistic and textual coherence of long and seemingly discontinuous stretches of text.

While her research raises issues for the creation and perception of cohesion in literary texts, it also has implications for the study of coherence in non-fiction writing as well as in forms of scripted and unscripted dialogue.

As the Special Feature this time, we present the perspectives of four applied linguists active in two of the core disciplines of applied linguistics: language education and language acquisition. Leo van Lier, John Povey, and Brian Lynch, representing particular expertises within language education, contribute essays, while John Schumann responds to questions from David Leech (who coordinated the Special Feature) about his past and present interests in language acquisition research. Individually, each contributor explains how his area of specialization confronts questions which are fundamental for all researchers, theorists, and practitioners interested in language learning. Collectively, the four contributions suggest that work in language education and work in language acquisition continue to inform one another in a number of important ways.

In the Reviews section, five books are evaluated which deal with New Zealand English (Rachel Locker), individual differences in second language acquisition (Roger Griffiths), the use of video in language teaching (Maria Egbert), teaching and learning vocabulary (David Leech), and reading skills for EST (Charlene Polio).

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like the shapes of snowflakes
we are the words on a journey
not the inscriptions of a settled people

W.S. Merwin
"An encampment at morning"

As of June 1, 1991, Sally Jacoby, Assistant Editor, will take over as Editor of *IAL*. The December 1991 issue of *IAL* will thus be the first issue prepared under her editorship. Sally will continue IAL's policy of looking favorably on interesting small-scale as well as large-scale studies; on new departures as well as under-represented areas of applied linguistics research; and on submissions from countries other than the U.S. as well as from nonnative-

speakers of English. In addition, *IAL* will continue to encourage submissions from student researchers as well as from faculty and independent investigators. All future correspondence and manuscript submissions should henceforth be addressed to Sally Jacoby.

In its first three issues, I trust *IAL* has not only been able to provide you with a range of articles, features, and reviews that represent "traditional" applied linguistics, but that we have also been able to push the boundaries of applied linguistics a bit further out in the hope that less "traditional" inquiries can offer new perspectives and challenge existing structures. We haven't been able to fully explore these avenues as yet, but we ask you to consider *IAL*, in the words of W.S. Merwin, to be "not the inscriptions of a settled people, but words on a journey," a journey *IAL* has only just begun.

June 1991 Antony John Kunnan

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Arabization in Tunisia: The Tug of War[1]

Mohamed Daoud
University of California, Los Angeles

This study presents the policy of Arabization in Tunisia as an example of language planning which has been used to pursue and maintain power. It argues that Arabization has been promoted only to the extent that it served the interests of the politico-economic ruling elite. After reviewing the relevant literature, the study evaluates the language situation in Tunisia in terms of the degree of implementation of Arabization in three domains: 1) education; 2) government administration; 3) the media and general use. The study shows that the official authorities have been quite inconsistent in promoting Arabization, and that they have encouraged bilingualism (Arabic and French) and biculturalism (Arab-Islamic and Western European, mainly French) much more consistently. In this light, the study analyzes the attitudes and objectives of the authorities, who represent the influential elites, as they interact with other competing elites in order to maintain power.

INTRODUCTION

Arabization is the process of promoting Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) to the level of a fully functional language in educational, administrative, and mass-media domains, to replace the language of the former European colonial powers. Historically, Arabization was viewed throughout the Arab World as a fundamental component of the struggle for independence. The maintenance of Arabic was proclaimed by the leaders of the various Arab independence movements as the means to assert their countries' national character vis a vis the colonial powers, to retrieve their people's Arab-Islamic cultural identity, and to preserve their national unity as a community speaking one language: Arabic, rather than French, English, Berber, or any regional dialect. Since the various Arab countries achieved their independence, Arabization has been considered an essential means to remove the vestiges of colonialism which still permeate the governmental and educational systems as well as the cultural and social environment.

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Thus, Arabization is not merely an issue that concerns only linguists and educationalists; it is rather a language policy issue closely tied to the political, social, and cultural situation prevailing in each Arab country and to the ruling elites' objectives in establishing and maintaining power. This paper presents Arabization in Tunisia as a case study within the theoretical framework of *language planning as the pursuit and maintenance of power* (Cooper, 1990).

During the struggle for independence from the late 19th century till 1956, Tunisian leaders proclaimed Arabization as the means to assert the national character of Tunisia vis a vis colonialist France, to retrieve the country's Arab-Islamic cultural identity, and to preserve its national unity as a community speaking one language: Arabic. However, some thirty years after Tunisia became independent in 1956, these same leaders, who still hold the reins of power, now claim that the Arabization campaign has been successfully completed in line with national goals. The following statement, from the news magazine *Dialogue,* the mouthpiece of the ruling Destour party, represents this view:

> While the first two decades of independence were devoted to the spread of education [1960s] then to Arabization and Tunisification [1970s], the present decade is that of making choices for the future. The key issue is how to form the generation of the year 2000. (Hechmi, 1984, p. 16; author's translation from the original French)

What is interesting in such a statement is not only the claim that Arabization has been successfully achieved, but the implication that it is no longer a matter of public debate. The following study will show that this form of censorship imposed on the issue of Arabization has often been resorted to for different but essentially non-language-related reasons. Moreover, in surveying the present language situation in Tunisia, this paper will argue that Arabization was promoted only to the extent that it served the interests of the politico-economic ruling elite. It will maintain that the official authorities have been quite inconsistent in implementing Arabization, and that it is bilingualism and biculturalism[2] which they have promoted much more consistently. The paper will also analyze the attitudes and objectives of the ruling elite as it interacts with other competing elites in order to maintain power.

BACKGROUND

To appreciate the complexity of the Arabization question and identify the various actors involved in it, some general background information is in order before proceeding to an evaluation of the current language situation in Tunisia.

The Varieties of Arabic

Classical Arabic (CA), the language of the Qur'an, was established as the national language of Tunisia and the whole of North Africa when Islam spread to that part of the world more than twelve centuries ago. The indigenous language, Berber, which had already been affected by Phoenician and then Latin over the centuries, was eventually almost entirely supplanted by an oral dialect of Arabic spoken by all Tunisians. Unlike Morocco and Algeria, Tunisia today has no more than 1% Berber speakers (Garmadi, 1968). Arabic, therefore, survived in Tunisia in two distinct varieties: the first, CA, was preserved by literary writers and mainly by theologians and teachers in the Quranic schools, and the second, an oral dialect known as Tunisian Arabic (TA), was and still remains the language of everyday conversation.

During their colonial rule over Tunisia (1881-1956), the French established a number of schools to promote their language as the object and the means of instruction. They also established an administrative system which functioned almost totally in French, with the occasional use of TA in certain legal cases and other dealings with the local people. Thus, CA was used only within the confines of al-Zaytuna, a traditional theological university where reading, writing, and Arabic grammar were taught, and in al-Sadiqiyya, a bilingual high school (founded in 1875 by the reformer Khayr al-Diyn Pacha al-Tunusi) where a few Tunisians went for their education, among whom were the leaders of the ruling elite in independent Tunisia (Garmadi, 1968; Maamouri, 1973; Murphy, 1977). The majority of the ruling elite, however, received their higher education in France, several among them even marrying French women before returning to Tunisia.

In the first years of independence, the bilingually educated leaders of the country undertook the task of founding a nation, one essential characteristic of which had to be the Arabic language. Indeed, Arabic was the most significant element around which they could unite the people:

> If language is a potential point of national pride, then it may be a focus to rally a nation and is an ideal choice for uniting a people because few other things are so present in their daily lives and affect them all so equally, unless they are bilingual and divided over language status. (Murphy, 1977, p. 8)

In this spirit, the Tunisian constitution stipulated that *"Tunisia is a republic; its language is Arabic and its religion Islam"* [emphasis mine; author's translation from the original Arabic]. But which variety of Arabic is meant to be preserved or promoted? Because of the sacred view people have of Arabic as the language of the Qur'an, Tunisians, like all other Arabs, consider CA their mother tongue and TA, the oral dialect, a "degraded form" rather than a characteristically different variety of Arabic. This view is confirmed in a recent appraisal of the issue (Al-Baccouche, 1990).

The political leaders who shared this view encouraged CA to spread "out of the mosques and schools into the street" (Maamouri, 1973, p. 57), which increased its use and enhanced its social function. This led to the development of MSA, an intermediate variety of Arabic which evolved out of the close contact between CA and TA, and which is described as "the language of the mass media and of some political speeches, modern plays, novels, and literary magazines and lectures" (Maamouri, 1973, p. 57). Garmadi (1968) also notes that, in its written form, MSA is a kind of modern literary Arabic, highly influenced by French in its style and structure, while in its oral form, it is an intermediate register between CA and TA. Garmadi's definition is clearly specific to MSA as practiced in Tunisia, as opposed to MSA as a cover term for "educated" Arabic throughout the Arab World, but the definition is valid given that there are regional varieties of MSA which have arisen out of the interaction between CA, French or English, and the local spoken dialect (cf., Maamouri, 1973; Al-Shalabi, 1984; Benikhalef, 1987).

Arabization: A Complex Issue

Grandguillaume (1983) points out that Arabization is still a matter of current debate. Drawing on a number of references and a series of official statements relevant to three Maghreb (North African) countries (Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco), he argues that

> the question of Arabization is indeed deeply set in the field of internal oppositions, class conflicts, ideological tensions, and group competition; it is at the center of the struggle for power

> at its different levels, from the ability to find a job—one speaks of "bread language"—to the strategies of regenerating elites that will maintain power. (p. 35; author's translation from the original French)

Grandguillaume shows that the problem of Arabization has three dimensions: 1) linguistic, 2) sociological or socio-political, and 3) anthropological. While briefly reviewing his argument, I will highlight the significant attitudes of the various participants in the discussion of this problem, for it is these attitudes which help us uncover the participants' underlying objectives for pursuing and maintaining power.

At the linguistic level, the problem of Arabization has to do with the conflictual status of CA and TA, on the one hand, and CA and French, on the other. As noted by both Maamouri (1973) and Garmadi (1968), Arabization entailed a reduction of the gap between CA and TA. This conflict was acknowledged by R. Hamzaoui, an Arabic linguist and author, who wrote in 1966 that "because of its vitality, the dialect [TA] constitutes a permanent threat to the foundations of the Arabic language [CA]" (cited in Grandguillaume, 1983, p. 172; author's translation from the original French).

Arabization also required the massive introduction of a new vocabulary so that Arabic could replace French as a means of expression in the modern world. However, creating a modern Arabic lexicon proved to be a difficult and slow process. For instance, specialists from the Maghreb countries (Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco) managed to create only a basic lexicon for the first three years in elementary school, which was published in 1976 as a manual entitled *L'Arabe Fonctionnel —al-rasid al-lughawi* in Arabic—under the auspices of the Maghrebi Consultative Committee for Education and Instruction. However, the influence of French can still be seen in this new lexicon. While many words could be derived from Arabic roots (e.g., *Haasuub* or *Haasib* for 'computer,' derived from the trilateral root *H-s-b*, meaning 'to count'), many others were direct transliterations of Greco-Latin words (e.g., *jiyulujiya* for 'geology').

The lexicographical process has been very slow mainly because of a lack of coordination between the different Arab countries on a unified modern lexicon. Such agencies as The Maghrebi Consultative Committee (created in 1966) or The Permanent Bureau of Arabization (created in 1961 to coordinate Arabization in the Arab World, but activated only in 1973) began operation only after the different countries had already started

developing their own lexicons (Grandguillaume, 1983; Al-Shalabi, 1984).

However, besides the practical problems of creating a modern lexicon and incorporating it in teaching materials, along with political pressure from the different Arab governments, Arabists (i.e., proponents of Arabic, who include Arab nationalists, Muslim activists, Arabic linguists, and teachers) all share in the responsibility of slowing down the process. For, like R. Hamzaoui, their seeing TA, and French for that matter, as "a permanent threat" to CA, belies a concern for the purity of CA. Such concern may be seen as a form of resistance to change, which is ironic since modernizing CA would increase its use and ultimately benefit the Arabists. But this resistance is more likely an effort on the part of this group to retain their social prestige and privileges as a professional intellectual elite that aspires to participation in the decision-making process, at least at the level of language policy, which explains, in part, why many Arabists are active in the different Arabization agencies.

At the sociological level, the issue of Arabization can be viewed from two perspectives. One perspective is that the degree of freedom in discussing the issue can be considered a measure of the democratization of public life. More often than not, the Arabization debate was censored, whether to prevent harsh criticism of the ruling elite or to forestall major conflicts between the "traditionalists" and "modernists."

S. Hamzaoui (1976) describes the ideology of the traditionalists as oscillating between Arab nationalism and Muslim fundamentalism. As he explains it, because of the purist conception they have of Arabic, because of their glorification of the past and their indignation about the degradation of moral values, for which they blame the ruling elite, and because of their Pan-Arabist ideas, the traditionalists constitute a rival or counter elite to the rulers. The modernists, on the other hand, are essentially bilingual and partake, to varying degrees, in the official ideology of the ruling elite. They have Western values and do not really identify with the Pan-Arabist ideology.

The second perspective is that Arabization was used as a means of social selection for the maintenance of elites, because, as it turned out, a higher level of proficiency in Arabic did not really increase an individual's opportunities for academic achievement or professional promotion. This was, in fact, what the first high school graduates from Section A[3] discovered after they had passed the Arabic baccalaureate (secondary school examinations). Having

been taught all school subjects in Arabic, these students could neither go to a university, except to the Arabic and Religious Studies departments, nor find jobs that matched their qualifications. This must have been all the more frustrating to them since many of the bilingual baccalaureate certificate holders were being recruited as school teachers and administration clerks at a time when the country needed Tunisians to replace the French personnel. Thus, while implementing Arabization, the influential elites made sure their children were proficient in French to guarantee them access to the best schools in France (hautes écoles) or in Tunisia (schools of the French Mission followed by science and technology departments at the Tunisian university).

At the anthropological level, Arabization has raised other issues related to language as a factor of national unity vis a vis the French culture and value system which is, in fact, preserved in Tunisia thanks to the spread of French in administrative bodies, commerce, the media, and in general use. As will be seen below, both the decision of the ruling elite to keep the French language as a means of instruction in the scientific and technical fields and the preservation of the French administrative system strengthened the Western value system which the authorities set out to rid the country of. The lingering question was asked by Grandguillaume: "Which societal model are we aiming for [not only] from the linguistic, but also the cultural and ideological point of view?" (Grandguillaume, 1983, p. 44; author's translation from the original French).

The System of Values in Education

In a study of elementary school Arabic textbooks, Bchir (1980a, 1980b) analyzed the readings in these books in terms of thematic content and cultural orientation. She focused on the perceptions that the passages convey of such topics as the seasons, the family, work, great men, modernity, and culture as well as of the notions of social involvement and social conservatism. She noted, for example, that the family presented in the readings was typically the model bourgeois Western-oriented family sitting around the fireplace, celebrating birthdays, etc. But such a depiction of a family, Bchir points out, stands in stark contrast to the typical Tunisian family that does not have a fireplace nor celebrates birthdays.

Bchir's study reveals that the textbooks are characterized by two fundamental tendencies. The first is the depreciation of national identity, because the authors overlook the cultural reality of the

country, depreciate all that is traditional, and perceive the Tunisian heritage and social reality as static. The second tendency has to do with a dazzled admiration of the West and uncritical acceptance of modernity: the elementary school textbooks present Western modernity in terms of positiveness, progress, and the miraculous solution of problems, while they equate traditionalism with negativity, failure, ignorance, and carelessness.

For instance, in the course of six years of elementary school students learn about twenty great men, but they are all from the West. Famous medieval Arab scientists, like Ibn Battuta, an explorer and geographer, and Ibn Khaldoun, a social scientist, are never mentioned. Students learn about the genius behind scientific inventions but never read about the problems of modern science (e.g., the destructive power of Nobel's dynamite) or the disadvantages of modern technology (e.g., pollution, accidents). The only Third World celebrity mentioned in the readings is Pele, a Brazilian soccer player.

Such attitudes as the uncritical admiration of what is Western and the disparagement of what is local or Arab are, therefore, developed from a very young age and later reinforced by the media, films, etc. What is more, they are coupled with a lack of confidence in the ability of the Arabic language to meet the communicative needs of the young student who finds Arabic used only in Arabic grammar and literature classes, while French is used in mathematics and science classes.

EVALUATION OF THE CURRENT LANGUAGE SITUATION

Language in Education

In order to appreciate the extent to which Arabization has been sometimes promoted, sometimes retarded, we will review the series of official language policy decisions that have been made since Tunisia became independent in 1956 regarding the use of both Arabic and French in education. Appendix A presents the chronology of these decisions.

The chronological survey reveals that the decision makers have been rather inconsistent in promoting Arabization in Tunisian schools. While it is true that there was a consistent effort to implement the Arabization process during the 1970s and up to 1982,

the effort was discontinued and the process seems to have been reversed by 1986. Indeed, in 1989, French was reintroduced in the second year of elementary school and five French-medium pilot schools were created in the major Tunisian cities in 1989.

Originally, on June 25, 1958, former President Bourguiba declared in a speech at al-Sadiqiyya High School:

> Education in the secondary schools will be oriented toward Arabization and the use of Arabic so that it can serve to teach all the subjects unless necessity and circumstances force us, for a limited period, to use French to take advantage of the possibilities that are available to us until the teacher-training schools provide us with the necessary staff who will ensure the teaching of all subjects in Arabic. (*l'Action*, June 26, 1958; author's translation from the French)

However, many more statements were made later by the President and other officials, which indicated that the country simply could not afford *not* to maintain French as the language for teaching the sciences and for gaining access to the "modern world" (see Bourguiba's statement on June 30, 1986 in Appendix A, and then-Prime Minister Mzali's references to the importance of French, in the final section on Francophonie below). This ambivalent attitude toward the French language and the value system it represents is much clearer in the domains of the administration, the media, and the general environment, which we will now consider.

Arabic and French in Government Administration

The Tunisian government has 19 ministries (as of October, 1989; see Appendix B), but only three have been totally Arabized (i.e., all their documents, reports, and publications are in Arabic): the Office of the Prime Minister, the Ministry of the Interior, and the Ministry of Justice. That the latter two ministries deal with the problems of the common people encouraged their Arabization. However, another factor was that the Ministry of Justice started with a sizable number of legal texts from Islamic Law, concerning personal status (marriage, divorce, adoption) and land ownership (inheritance, *Hubus*), all of which had been left from the colonial period and were in Arabic. In addition, the country had several qualified practitioners and students of Islamic law who were more competent in Arabic (R. Hamzaoui, 1970) than in French. Officially, the Office of the Prime Minister is said to be totally

Arabized, presumably to set an example, but in fact it still circulates some documents in both Arabic and French.

Of the remaining ministries, the Ministry of Education functions primarily in Arabic but still uses French, especially with respect to mathematics, science, and technology. The Ministry of Defense is also largely Arabized, at least as far as can be determined from the documents addressed to the general public concerning compulsory military service. It is likely, however, that the literature related to military management, training, and research is in French. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is considered to be only half-Arabized, despite the 1989 presidential decree mandating its Arabization, because it has to deal with non-Arabic speaking governments. Four other ministries occasionally issue publications or decrees in Arabic, but the bulk of their literature, correspondence, etc. is in French: the ministries of Information, Culture, Social Affairs, and Youth & Sports. The remaining ministries operate almost exclusively in French, yet it should be noted that these French-medium ministries fall within the domains of science, technology, and business, which were domains originally targeted, in principle, for Arabization.

The official view would probably disagree with this assessment of the extent of Arabization in the government ministries and their affiliate agencies, since every ministry has Arabic translators on hand who could translate any document.[4] However, the assessment is based on observation of the day-to-day communication between the various ministries and the general public as reflected in their publications, correspondence, and formal paperwork as well as on personal, informal contact that I had with personnel at different levels of the Tunisian administrative bureaucracy.

Indeed, I would argue that the following observation made by R. Hamzaoui (1970) is still valid today:

> Although the constitution stipulates that the official language [of Tunisia] is Arabic, there is not one official text which obliges each administrator to apply it immediately . . . . The first text available to us is Article 1 of a decree dated September 8, 1955 . . . relative to the publication of all the decrees, decisions, legal and regulatory texts as well as notices and information published in *Le Journal Officiel de la République Tunisienne* [the Official Journal of the Tunisian Republic] which must be written in the two languages [i.e., Arabic and French]. (p. 217; author's translation from the original French)

Language in the Media and the General Environment

Appendix C shows that the number of French-medium newspapers and magazines available to the Tunisian public is greater than that of publications in Arabic. If special-interest magazines (e.g., fashion, hobbies, etc.) were included, they would even more strongly tip the balance in favor of French. The ruling party has two daily newspapers (*al-Hurriyya* and *Le Renouveau*, formerly named *al-'amel* and *l'Action*, respectively) and a weekly magazine (*Dialogue*, renamed *7 Novembre*), but only *al-Hurriyya* is published in Arabic.

The eight Tunisian weekly newspapers in Arabic actually appear on different days of the week so that, between the Arabic and French-medium publications (including magazines), a reader has at his or her disposal approximately an equal number of publications in each language every day. As for the foreign publications, the score is clearly better for French.

Considering the attitudes of readers, it is important to note that the better-educated generally prefer French-medium news publications due to their better quality, variety of information, and commentary. Furthermore, the overall poor quality of the Tunisian newspapers and magazines in both languages provides bilingual readers with a stronger incentive to read non-Tunisian papers, like *Le Monde*, which appear in major Tunisian cities on the same day as in France. Educated readers also have access to international publications, such as *Jeune Afrique*, a news magazine concerned with African/Middle-Eastern issues, which is published in French.

This situation further supports the idea that Tunisian language planning, as a means of social selection, serves to maintain or regenerate elites. Readers, who prefer to read in French and who are usually either closer to or actually part of the influential elites, always manage to keep an edge on the rest of the population by being better informed and by gaining a better understanding of the world around them.

As for the spread of French in the general environment, it will suffice to make the following observations: first, with respect to literacy as well as everyday conversation, French is used quite extensively by many middle- and upper-class people in urban Tunisia. It is also more commonly used by educated Tunisian women as opposed to men, regardless of their socio-economic status, as it is believed to confer upon them a degree of sophistication and prestige. Second, it is not at all uncommon for educated Tunisians to initiate and hold a conversation in French,

whether among friends or while conducting official business (Bachouch, 1987). Third, Tunisia has two radio stations and two television channels, with one channel or station in each medium broadcasting in French. Furthermore, the French television channel is a mere hook-up to *Antenne 2*, which broadcasts directly from France for many more hours a day than the Arabic channel. Finally, French is often preferred to Arabic in the publications of various organizations or associations.

It should be clear from this survey of the language situation in Tunisia that the Arabization effort has been somewhat successful in education but not in the other domains affecting the socio-political structure and the population at large. Although Arabic has been promoted, French still has a firm foothold at the level of individuals, groups, and institutions. What is more important, however, is that most Tunisians seem to have adopted a French, or more generally, a Western value system as a result of the ruling elite's policy of maintaining French at such a high level of functional use in the country.

This is borne out by some of the points mentioned above such as the attitudes reflected in the elementary school textbooks studied by Bchir (1980a, 1980b) and the prestige associated with the use of French by certain social groups in conversation, correspondence, and so forth. Additional support for this claim can be found in social customs that have been adopted from the West (perhaps an extreme example of which is purchasing Christmas decorations, chocolate, and pastry as part of the New Year celebrations in some urban areas). A Western orientation is also evident in certain intellectual circles which associate the Arabic language and Arab traditions with obscurantism, regression, and backwardness, while anything French or Western is associated with openness, progress, and forward-looking thought.

THE RULING ELITE

In this section, we will focus on the ruling elite in Tunisia and shed some light on its attitudes and goals in view of the contradictory positions it has taken in the last ten years with respect to Arabization and Francophonie (see discussion below).

Arabization as a Tool in Domestic and Foreign Policy

The official Tunisian policy of promoting Arabization has been championed since 1956 by a small group of intellectuals within the political elite led by Mohamed Mzali, who headed several ministries, especially the Ministry of Education, for ten years and then served as Prime Minister from April, 1980 to July, 1986. The members of this group are, for the most part, former students of al-Sadiqiyya High School, but they are also graduates of French universities. They are, therefore, perfectly bilingual, fully aware of their country's Arab-Islamic heritage, and, at the same time, highly influenced by Western system of values. While these people initially presented Arabization as a means for consolidating Tunisia's Arab-Islamic cultural character and for confirming its national identity (the latter notion is referred to as *Tunisification* [5]), the facts suggest that, by and large, Arabization was variously encouraged or halted for other reasons.

At the level of domestic policy, and particularly in education, Arabization was encouraged by the government in the mid-1970s in order to contain the expansion among university students of "destructive Marxist thought," which was believed to have been introduced through exposure to French. At that time, philosophy, a subject taken in the final year of secondary school, was taught in French, and hundreds of students, who passed their baccalaureate exams and went to university, had been influenced by the ideas of Marx and Lenin, whose works constituted the bulk of the philosophy course. At the start of the 1976-77 academic year, therefore, a decision was made to teach philosophy in Arabic.

The critics of this decision were quick to uncover the government's real intentions and did not hide their fear of its implications. Youssef Seddik, a philosophy inspector for the Ministry of Education and a journalist, wrote that the French-speaking Tunisian philosophy teachers "refuse this rush to the past or to missionary thinking upheld by those who have misunderstood Arabization or misled it by imposing a theologizing view on it." Seddik added that "the content of the arabized philosophy syllabus is below the requirements for modernity. Worse: it is attached to the old tenets of obscurantism, and no Tunisian would accept this regression" (cited in Grandguillaume, 1983, p. 61; author's translation from the original French).

This criticism was justified, in part, because the Arabization of philosophy entailed shifting the focus from certain topics to others in the syllabus. Thus, Marxist thought received less

attention, as did topics such as work, society, and psychoanalysis, while Arab-Islamic thought, together with topics such as epistemology, the philosophy of language, and morality, received more attention. The shift in focus was, of course, enhanced by the scarcity of Arabic-language sources for the former set of topics and the relative abundance of such sources for the latter set.

But the Arabization of the teaching of philosophy is just one example of how the policy of Arabization was affected either negatively or positively for the sake of controlling student unrest and preempting the development of rival political elites. For, one should note that, on the political scene in the early 1970s, the tension between the government and the Marxist/Leninist/Maoist student movement was at its highest point. Many who were in this movement maintain that the ruling elite in power at the time, the Destour Socialist Party, encouraged the formation of an Islamist student group to counter the leftist movement. Tracing the development of the Islamist movement in Tunisia to the late 1960s, when the official socialist policies failed and high school students took to the streets shouting, "schooled or not, we have no future," Zghal (1979) writes that "starting in 1975, Islam as a mobilizing ideological discourse entered for the first time since independence the inviolate territory of the Left; i.e., the University" (p. 62; author's translation from the original French).

However, subsequently, Arabization was blamed for the spread of "the destructive ideas of Islamic fundamentalism."[6] Indeed, the close association between Arabic and Islam as well as the force the language lends to the Muslim fundamentalist message make Arabization a threat to the ruling elite's grip on power. For Bourguiba, the leader of this elite, building a nation out of Tunisia was a matter of separating religion from politics, a matter of "Tunisifying" and modernizing a country where religion is still capable of rivaling politics for power (Larif-Béatrix, 1988). Taking a similar view, Zghal (1979) notes that "at the ideological level, the most radical opposition in Tunisia is that between 'Bourguibism' and the Islamic Movement" (p. 50; author's translation from the original French).

At the foreign policy level, Arabization was used to attract foreign investments from the Gulf countries. Promoting Arabization helped to legitimize Tunisia as part of the Arab World in the eyes of the Gulf financiers, who consequently considered the country worthy of harboring Arab banking institutions and of receiving development aid. Arab money was of course necessary to implement the five-year economic development plan of 1981-86.

By the same token, more Arabization was deemed necessary to train Tunisians to deal with Arab investors in their language.

Francophonie: The Tunisian Perspective

Francophonie is a movement whose purpose is to maintain and promote the use of French in the countries that have economic and cultural ties to France, keeping in mind that these countries were French colonies at one time or another. Given the changing policies of language policy in Tunisia, Francophonie is relevant to this study because the ruling elite's position regarding the French language necessarily affects their attitude and decisions concerning Arabization.

Tunisia participated in the first Francophonie summit meeting held on February 17-18, 1986, in Paris, France. This participation is particularly interesting because the Tunisian representative to the summit was Mzali himself, then Prime Minister and long-time proponent of Arabization. In his summit speech, Mzali hailed "the Tunisian President's action of promoting French as that of a pioneer of Francophonie." He maintained that Tunisia had already retrieved its Arab-Islamic identity, successfully promoted Arabic as its national language, and was using French as "an auxiliary language" to gain access to modernity and scientific and technological progress, as well as to broaden the cultural scope of its people. He noted "the common cultural affinities, which form strong ties between the Francophone countries," adding that "it is vital for the Francophone peoples to constitute an economic, scientific, and technological community." Finally, Mzali considered the creation of an economic organization of Francophone countries "a civilizational contract."[7]

The entire speech belies a clear attachment to the French language and French cultural values and provides evidence, after more than thirty years of independence, that the political elite made a consistent effort to promote bilingualism and biculturalism. Commenting on this ruling elite, Leveau (1986) says, "The Maghreb nationalists are, for the most part, intellectual products of the French School. [They are] shaped by its system of values . . . They see French education and culture as dissociated from the colonial machine" (p. 120; author's translation from the original French).

CONCLUSION: THE TUG OF WAR

The goals of this paper were to reconsider the issue of Arabization in Tunisia at a time when it is no longer considered a matter of public debate and to investigate the reasons behind the promotion or retardation of Arabization as a language policy. The issue was addressed within the theoretical framework of language planning as a means to pursue and maintain power. Consequently, the discussion was focused on the Tunisian political elite, that is, on the actors who make decisions and who choose when and how to implement and when and how *not* to implement these decisions.

This study has argued that it is really bilingualism and biculturalism which have been promoted in Tunisia. Arabization per se was promoted only to the extent that it solved the problems of the ruling elite when its hold on power was weak or threatened. This was true during the struggle for independence against the French and later when internal unrest rose to a dangerous level among university students. On the whole, the ruling elite in Tunisia has mostly favored a policy of non-implementation because Arabization constitutes a threat to their grip on power, as it did to the French colonialists before them. This is borne out by the observation that the Arabization effort has always been measured. Some researchers (e.g., Payne, 1983) wonder why the ruling elite has not appointed an official body--a language planning agency--to implement or at least to monitor Arabization. The answer seems clear: promoting full-scale Arabization is not compatible with the value system and the cultural model adhered to by the elite. Garmadi (1968) hinted at this answer twenty years ago. He saw a "striking paradox" in that the elite, which is greatly influenced by the French language and culture, was the one implementing Arabization. But if Garmadi were to analyze the language situation in Tunisia today, he would find it much more complex.

During the early years of Tunisian independence, there were mainly two opposing forces arguing over language. On one side, were the Classical Arabists and other intellectuals who shared their concern about the purity of Arabic; on the other were the modernists, bilingual, for the most part, who wanted to promote Arabic to the level where it could fulfill the social, educational, and cultural functions of a modern language. The "tug of war" was, therefore, between well-meaning nationalists on both sides, and only the status of the language was at stake.

Later on, when it became clear that French was going to be maintained indefinitely, the forces at both ends of the rope came to

be seen as supporters either of Arabic, the national language, or French, the foreign language. Thus, a cultural dimension complicated the situation, because each language is not only the symbol but the vehicle of a cultural model. And thus Tunisia once again has had to face the question of which societal model it was aiming for, not only from the linguistic, but also the cultural and ideological point of view.

The outcome of the present situation is difficult to predict, as is the direction in which Arabic is evolving in terms of policy, use, and even structure. One thing is noticeable though: the ruling elite's legitimacy is now being challenged partly as a result of what counter-elites perceive as its sustained but covert effort to preserve the French language and cultural model, otherwise known as the "modernist model." Tunisia is thus undergoing a transitional phase in which power may be transferred to a counter-elite. But whatever the ultimate outcome, language planning with respect to Arabic will play a decisive role in legitimizing the future ruling elite.

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NOTES

[1] This paper evolved out of a term project at UCLA in Spring 1987. It was then revised on the basis of supplementary data I gathered in Tunisia during the summer of 1989 through a formal investigation of the language situation in education and the media, and through informal contact and observation of language use in the government administration and among the public. Several observations about language use in these areas are also drawn from my professional experience in Tunisia as a language teacher and administrator in secondary school. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Middle-Eastern Studies Association (MESA) Conference, Toronto, Canada, November 15-18, 1989.

[2] The term 'bilingualism' is used together with 'biculturalism' to convey the notion that the implementation of a bilingual language policy in Tunisia is not merely focused on encouraging the learning of French as a foreign language to broaden the student's horizon, as it is the case with English language teaching, for example. While cultural enrichment is of course part of official policy, I will argue that there is a desire and a deliberate effort on the part of the ruling elite to exercise political control through language planning, and that this desire is combined with a

lack of confidence in Arabic as a language capable of fulfilling the communicative needs of a modern Tunisia.

[3] Section A (A for Arabic) was an experimental section at the secondary school level where instruction was given in Arabic only. It was instituted in 1958 as part of the first educational reform in Tunisia under the direction of Mahmoud Messaadi, then Minister of National Education. The reform was announced by President Bourguiba on June 25, 1958 at al-Sadiqiyya High School. Section A was dropped after the first group of students had graduated in 1964 and was never reinstituted (Grandguillaume, 1983, 47, 172).

[4] Salem Ghazali, Institut Bourguiba des Langues Vivantes, Tunis, personal communication.

[5] Tunisification, according to Mzali, means that Tunisia has its own personality as a nation in view of its geographical position, national history, civilization, heritage, religion, and language. Tunisification means neither a split from Arabism nor the suppression of foreign languages (Grandguillaume, 1983, pp. 54-55). Bechir Ben Slama, a close colleague of Mzali, who directed the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, wrote: "It has never been possible to separate the issue of Tunisification from the issue of Arabization or vice versa, on condition that the term Arabization does not carry any connotations of specific political tendencies contrary to the will of the Tunisian people to remain Tunisian; in other words, in control of. . . their destiny and not melted into another people whoever they may be" (cited in Salem, 1984, p. 188).

[6] *Impact International,* London, 3/27-4/9 1987.

[7] Text of Mzali's speech printed in *L'Action*, Tunis, February 18, 1986; author's translation from the original French.

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APPENDIX A

Chronology of Decisions Concerning Arabization
in Tunisian Schools
(Updated from Grandguillaume, 1983)

June 25, 1958: First reform of the educational system
- Closing of the Qur'anic schools and laicization of education
- Arabization of 1st and 2nd years of elementary school (i.e., all subjects taught in Arabic; French dropped as subject of instruction)
- Creation of Section A, a high school section in which all subjects were taught in Arabic

September 16, 1969
- Reintroduction of French as a subject of instruction in 1st and 2nd years of elementary school

March 21, 1970
- Mzali, Minister of National Education, declares that the government is considering dropping French in 1st year of elementary school

October 1, 1971
- French dropped in 1st year of elementary school

October 1, 1976
- French dropped in 2nd year of elementary school
- Arabization of history and geography in secondary school
- Arabization of philosophy in 7th (final) year of secondary school

October 1, 1977
- Arabization of 3rd year, elementary school
- Mzali declares he is in favor of maintaining French as a subject in 4th-6th years of elementary school

September 16, 1979
- Arabization of 4th year, elementary school
- French maintained as a subject and taught 3 hours/week in 4th year, elementary school

September 16, 1980
- Arabization of 5th year, elementary school; French maintained as in 4th year

September 16, 1981
- Arabization of 6th (final) year, elementary school; French maintained as in 4th and 5th years
- Arabization of 1st year, secondary school; French maintained as a subject taught 5 hours/week as the medium of instruction for mathematics

September 16, 1982
- Arabization of 2nd and 3rd years, secondary school; French maintained as in 1st year of secondary school

September 16, 1986
- Reintroduction of French as a subject in 2nd and 3rd years, elementary school taught 5 hours/week
- Increase in French instruction from 3 to 5 hours/week in 4th-6th years, elementary school

June 30, 1986
- Former President Bourguiba declares that poor achievement in mathematics in elementary and secondary school is due to lack of proficiency in French

September 15, 1988
- French dropped in 2nd year, elementary school

September 15, 1989
- French reintroduced in 2nd year, elementary school
- Creation of 5 pilot secondary schools (Lycée Bourguiba[1], Ariana[2], Sfax, Le Kef, Gafsa) where French is the medium of instruction in mathematics, science, and technology.

[1] Lycée Bourguiba actually started as a French-medium pilot school on September 16, 1983.

[2] Lycée Ariana also started in 1983, but it was an English-medium pilot school. As of September 16, 1989, it became a French-medium school.

APPENDIX B

Arabization in Tunisian Administration[1]

Ministry[2]	Arabic	French
1. Prime	++	-
2. Interior	++	-
3. Justice	++	-
4. Education	+	?
5. Defense	+	?
6. Foreign Affairs	+	+
7. Information	?	+
8. Culture	?	+
9. Social Affairs	?	+
10. Youth & Sports	?	+
11. Public Health	-	++
12. Housing & Infrastructure	-	++
13. Transportation	-	++
14. Tourism & Crafts	-	++
15. Communication	-	++
16. Agriculture	-	++
17. Planning &Finance	-	++
18. Energy & Mining	-.	++
19. Commerce & Industry	-	++

[1]Key: (++...-) = monolingual (Arabic)
(-...++) = monolingual (French)
(+...+) = bilingual
(+...?) = arabized with occasional use of French
(?...+) = French-medium with occasional use of Arabic.

[2]Nineteen ministries, constituting the basic governmental departments, were counted; however, the reader should keep in mind that there may be more or fewer ministries at any point in time. For instance, in the latest government (formed in October, 1989) the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Information were joined into one ministry. In the government of July, 1988, there were 21 ministries, with separate Ministries of Commerce and Industry as well as a Ministry of Education (National Education for elementary and secondary separate from a Ministry of Higher Education & Scientific Research for higher education).

APPENDIX C

Newspapers and Magazines[1,2]
in Tunisia

Arabic		Bilingual		French	
Tunisian newspapers					
al-Hurriyya[3]	(D)			Le Renouveau[4]	(D)
al-Sabah	(D)			La Presse	(D)
al-Shuruq	(D)			Le Temps	(D)
al-Anwar	(W)			Le Temps Hebdo	(W)
al-Bayan	(W)			Tunis Hebdo	(W)
al-Sada	(W)				
al-Ayyam	(W)				
al-Sahafa	(W)				
al-I'lan	(W)				
al-Riyadhi	(W)				
Sabah al-Khayr	(W)				
Tunisian magazines					
		Realités	(W)	7 Novembre[5]	(W)
		Le Maghreb	(W)	Conjoncture Economique	(M)
Foreign newspapers					
al-Ahram	(D)			Le Monde	(D)
al-Sharq al-Awsat	(D)			France-Soir	(D)
				Le Figaro	(D)
				Le Canard Enchainé	(D)
Foreign magazines					
al-Majallah	(W)			Jeune Afrique	(W)
al-Mustaqbal	(W)			Afrique Asie	(W)
al-Watan al-Arabi	(W)			L'Express	(W)
				Le Point	(W)
				Jeune Afrique Magazine	(M)
				Jeune Afrique Economique	(M)

[1]Data compiled in Summer 1989. (D) = daily, (W) = weekly, (M) = monthly.

[2]The newspapers and magazines listed carry political, economic, and general news. They do not include special-interest publications such as fashion magazines, hobby magazines, etc.

[3]Formerly *al-'amal*.

[4]Formerly *l'Action*.

[5]Formerly *Dialogue*.

Performance of ESL Students on a State Minimal Competency Test[1]

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The Hawaii State Test of Essential Competencies (HSTEC) is a minimal competency test which students must pass to graduate from high school. This paper focuses on differences in HSTEC (Form G) performance between 300 ninth grade students of limited English proficiency (SLEP) and the 318 ninth grade students used in the original norming sample (NORM group). The analyses indicate that SLEP students form a distinctly separate population from the NORM group ($F = 206.21$, $p < .01$) with SLEP students scoring 26.14 points lower than the NORM group on average. At the same time, those subtests which the SLEP students found to be more difficult were correspondingly difficult for the NORM group. Though there were no significant differences found among the various SLEP group ethnicities, there were significant differences among the HSTEC subtests and for interactions between ethnicity and the subtests. The results are discussed in terms of language training that some of the SLEP students should receive so that they can demonstrate their true abilities on the HSTEC.

INTRODUCTION

The effects of language and culture on standardized test scores has been a controversial issue in the educational testing literature for years (e.g., Kennedy, 1972), and it remains an important concern as large numbers of immigrant children in the United States are coming up against various types of standardized tests (e.g., NCTPP, 1990; Schmidt, 1990). This is especially true in the State of Hawaii, where the mixing of many different cultures has been a sociopolitical trend for over a century.

The *Hawaii State Test of Essential Competencies* (HSTEC) is a minimal competency test that has been administered in the State of Hawaii since 1983. The HSTEC is a requirement for graduation in Hawaii in that it allows students to demonstrate satisfactory

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performance in 14 of the 15 Essential Competencies (see description of the academic areas covered in the Materials section of this paper below) that must be passed before a diploma will be issued in the state. The fifteenth competency is in Oral Communication, which is assessed by teacher observation. Students first take the HSTEC in the ninth grade and, if they do not pass, they may take it again in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grades. Alternatively, students may choose to pass performance tests administered by Essential Competencies Certification Centers.

The research reported in this paper explores differences in the performance of various subgroups of ESL students found within the population of students who normally take the test. ESL students in this population are represented by a group called students of limited English proficiency (SLEP). Membership in this SLEP group is restricted to anyone who has been identified by the state (based on native language and/or place of birth [DOE, 1982]) as a nonnative speaker of English and who is therefore currently enrolled in the SLEP program of supplementary instruction in English language skills.

The overall purpose of this study was to determine both whether there are differences in performance between SLEP students and the overall norm group taking the test and whether there are differences among the major nationalities found within the SLEP group. It was also hoped that the underlying causes of any such differences could be identified to some extent. To those ends, the project was organized around the following research questions:

1) What are the descriptive statistics for the HSTEC and each of its Essential Competency subtests for ninth grade SLEP students and for a ninth grade norm group sampled from the entire population?

2) Do SLEP students constitute a group significantly different from the NORM group in terms of their overall HSTEC scores?

3) Are there any significant mean differences among ethnic groups (as determined by self-reported ethnicity) in the SLEP sample?

METHOD

Subjects

In May 1989, 19,312 students took the HSTEC Form G (DOE, 1989). Of these students, 10,858 were in the ninth grade; 6,277 were in the 10th grade; 1,823 were in the 11th grade; 38 were in the 12th grade (136 did not report their grade level). This is the population of students to which the results of this study can reasonably be generalized--a population made up of all grade levels in all of the high schools on the major islands in the Hawaiian archipelago.

The analyses in this study focused on the performances of ninth grade students since this was the largest group of students and was the only group taking the HSTEC for the first time. If differences in performance existed between SLEP students and the norm, it was expected to be clearest at the ninth grade level because those students who passed the HSTEC in the ninth grade would not be taking it again in subsequent grades.

The goals of this study involved making comparisons, in one way or another, between NORM group performance and SLEP performance. The NORM group data were based on all ninth grade students included in the final 1987 field test results for Form G. These NORM group students, numbering 318, had been selected from six high schools across the state such that they formed a stratified sample (in terms of sex and ethnicity) of the entire population. This sample included 51.9% males and 48.1% females from the following ethnic backgrounds: Filipino (23.5%), Hawaiian (20.6%), Japanese (15.6%), White (17.8%), and Other (22.5%). These ethnicities were based on self-reported data.

SLEP students account for a relatively small proportion of the entire population in the Hawaii schools and are spread fairly thinly across the state. To obtain a representative sample of such students, all SLEP students enrolled in the ninth grade at 16 different high schools were selected from the group of 10,858 ninth graders who took Form G in May 1989. This SLEP group was selected so that rural/urban and large/small high schools were represented from each of the main islands. This sample, numbering 300 in total, was selected to be representative of the approximately 1,200 ninth grade SLEP students who took Form G. The SLEP group included 54.3% males and 45.7% females from the following

ethnic backgrounds: Chinese (15%), Filipino (41%), Indochinese (6%), Korean (9%), Samoan (14.7%), and Other (14.3%).

Materials

The original forms of the HSTEC were developed by the Educational Testing Service, and other versions have subsequently been supervised by the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory. Form G was used because it was one of the two current forms being administered statewide, and data were therefore readily available. It contained 140 multiple-choice items including ten items for each of the following Essential Competencies (ECs):

1) Read and use printed materials
2) Complete commonly used forms
3) Demonstrate writing skills
4) [Not tested--Oral competency assessed by teacher observation]
5) Use computational skills
6) Use measuring devices
7) Interpret common visual symbols
8) Reach reasoned solutions
9) Distinguish fact from opinion
10) Use resources for learning
11) Identify effects of health abuse
12) Identify occupational requirements
13) Knowledge of U.S. government
14) Knowledge of political processes
15) Knowledge of citizen rights

The test was found to have an internal consistency reliability (K-R20) of .96 for the total scores and subtest estimates ranging from .49 to .84 when administered to the ninth graders (Arter, Deck, & Nickel, 1987). The validity of the test was supported by clear-cut item specifications and content analysis of the test forms.

Procedures

All of the students included in this study took the HSTEC under similar large-scale testing conditions. In other words, test booklets, number two pencils and machine-scorable answer sheets were used everywhere. Though Form G of the HSTEC was

administered at various times and at diverse sites across the state, all students involved in this study took it as part of the Hawaii State Department of Education's testing program. Thus the testing conditions for the NORM group and SLEP students can be assumed to have been about the same across the state.

Analyses

The demographic data and test results were recorded for each student on an IBM AT computer using a spreadsheet program. All statistics were calculated using either the *ABSTAT* (Anderson-Bell, 1989) or *SYSTAT* (Wilkinson, 1988) statistical analysis programs. The analyses included descriptive statistics, frequencies, and percentages, all of which were calculated to help in describing the main groups and subsamples. Several *F* tests were used to compare the NORM and SLEP groups: one for mean differences and another to compare the variances produced by the two groups. Two-way repeated-measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) procedures were used to make other mean comparisons for the fourteen essential competencies (ECs) as the repeated factor and SLEP group ethnicities as the other factor. The alpha level for all statistical decisions was set at $\alpha \leq .01$.

RESULTS

This section will provide a straightforward technical report of the results of this study, while the Discussion section that follows will provide less technical explanations framed as direct answers to the original research questions posed at the outset of this paper.

Descriptive Statistics

The overall results from the analysis of scores on the HSTEC Form G are shown in Table 1 for the NORM sample students and SLEP students. The first two rows of these descriptive statistics show the number of students (N) who took the examination and the number of items (i.e., test questions) on each form. The mean, median, standard deviation (SD), minimum (Min) and maximum (Max) scores, range, reliability (K-R20), and standard errors of measurement (SEM) are reported in the rows that follow:

TABLE 1
Summary Descriptive Statistics for NORM and SLEP Samples for Ninth Grade Only

Statistic	Norm Sample	SLEP Students
N	318	300
Items	140	140
Mean	89.60	63.46
Median	94.00	62.00
SD	25.40	19.02
Min	7.00	10.00
Max	132.00	127.00
Range	126.00	118.00
K-R20	.96	.92
SEM	5.00	5.41

Starting with central tendency, Table 1 shows that there was a 26.14 point difference between the means for the two groups. This difference can safely be attributed to other than chance factors because it was found to be statistically significant using the F ratio on a one-way ANOVA procedure ($F = 206.21$, $p < .01$, $df = 1, 616$ [not shown in Table 1]). More importantly, this difference in means was meaningful because it was large.

In terms of dispersion, Table 1 also reveals that the standard deviations, minimum scores, maximum scores, and ranges all indicate that the performances of the SLEP students were somewhat more homogenous than those for the NORM sample, i.e., the SLEP students' scores were not generally as widely distributed as those for the NORM group. The differences in variances between these two groups were also tested using the F ratio ($F = 1.7834$, $p < .01$, $df = 317, 299$ [not shown in Table 1]) and found to be significantly different. Thus the observed differences in the score variances are probably due to systematic (other than chance) factors.

In both groups, however, the distributions appear to be approximately normal, i.e., both are reasonably well centered and have ample room, above and below the mean, for at least two standard deviations. If there is any problem at all in the distributions, it is that there may be a slight negative skew (or ceiling effect) in the distribution of scores for the NORM sample. These distributions are mentioned here because normal distribution is an assumption of the statistical analyses that follow.

It is also worth noting in Table 1 that the reliability for the SLEP students was slightly lower than that for the NORM group

and that the SEM was correspondingly higher. Regardless of this small difference in reliability, the test appears to be acceptably reliable for both groups.

One observation that surfaced early in this study was that some members of the SLEP group were passing most of the HSTEC subtests and could be presumed to be within easy range of passing the remaining subtests during the tenth, eleventh, or twelfth grades. In order to further study the levels of performance among the SLEP students, their previously assigned Department of Education (DOE) English proficiency ratings were examined. These proficiency ratings were based on scores either from the *Language Assessment Scales* (Avila & Duncan, 1977) or *Basic Inventory of Natural Language* (Herbert, 1979), which were converted to a common scale (DOE, 1982).

At the outset of this study, it also seemed apparent that those students who had received a DOE proficiency rating of Non-English Proficient (NEP) were a distinct group which scored much lower than all other students within the SLEP category (see Table 2). As such, the NEP students were initially treated as a separate group. The remaining SLEP students were divided into groups based on the number of ECs that they passed as follows: the HIGH group (those who passed 10 or more of the 14 EC subtests, the MIDDLE group (those who passed between five and nine ECs, and the LOW group (students who passed between zero and four ECs). To pass any given EC, a 70% score was required (or seven correct answers out of the ten questions) on that subtest. The performances of the HIGH, MIDDLE, and LOW groups as well as the NEP students are reported for each EC in Table 2. The mean, standard deviation, and number of students are reported in each case.

Table 2 shows how consistently the NEP student performance resembles that of the LOW group more than it does that of the HIGH and MIDDLE groups. This similarity in performance may indicate that the LOW and NEP students form a single, more homogeneous group that is having considerable difficulty with the HSTEC. Table 2 also reveals how the MIDDLE and HIGH groups perform incrementally better than the lowest two groups on every subtest, and that the HIGH group performs better than the NORM group on all but two of the subtests. These results indicate that not all of the SLEP students are at risk of failing the HSTEC. The identification of those students who are likely to fail and prediction of their HSTEC performances are discussed elsewhere (J.D. Brown, 1990).

TABLE 2

Characteristics of the SLEP Subgroups on Individual Essential Competencies (ECs)

SUBGROUP Statistic	EC1	EC2	EC3	EC5	EC6	EC7	EC8	EC9	EC10	EC11	EC12	EC13	EC14	EC15
NORM SAMPLE (N=318)														
Mean	7.20	7.60	6.20	6.30	6.60	7.00	5.70	5.90	7.00	7.40	6.50	5.40	5.00	5.80
SD	1.70	2.00	2.20	2.40	2.20	2.10	2.40	2.90	2.70	2.80	2.70	2.60	2.40	2.40
HIGH SLEP (N=42)														
Mean	7.36	7.52	6.17	7.14	6.60	7.00	5.83	5.76	7.67	7.67	7.21	6.02	5.71	6.38
SD	1.36	1.12	1.90	1.92	1.98	1.50	1.49	1.94	1.17	1.49	1.26	1.46	1.47	1.86
MIDDLE SLEP (N=92)														
Mean	5.59	6.38	4.66	5.77	4.91	6.23	4.22	4.43	6.09	5.85	5.89	4.62	3.93	4.82
SD	1.60	1.63	1.54	2.41	1.97	1.57	1.52	1.85	1.43	1.77	1.89	1.50	1.44	1.49
LOW SLEP (N=113)														
Mean	4.21	4.49	3.58	3.02	3.56	4.16	3.17	2.94	3.73	4.39	3.58	2.95	2.81	3.42
SD	1.65	1.64	1.53	1.78	1.74	1.69	1.65	1.61	1.82	1.91	1.70	1.54	1.34	1.63
NEP (N=53)														
Mean	3.98	4.15	3.13	3.72	4.11	4.55	3.36	3.30	3.72	3.92	3.17	2.68	2.89	3.94
SD	1.45	2.18	1.52	2.42	2.02	2.10	1.77	1.70	1.93	1.97	1.76	1.63	1.61	1.73

The Effects of Ethnicity on HSTEC Performance

Another set of analyses examined ethnicity and differential performance on the 14 Essential Competencies. The purpose of these analyses was to discover any existing patterns that might point to contrastive cultural or language problems amenable to remediation. To that end, descriptive statistics were calculated for each ethnic group. Then the means of the ethnic groups on each of the Essential Competencies were analyzed for significant differences.

Overall Comparisons of Ethnic Groups

Table 3 shows the means, standard deviations, and number of subjects for each ethnicity. All ethnicities were identified by self-reported data on place of birth, first language, and language spoken at home:

TABLE 3
Descriptive Statistics for Ethnicity Groupings

ETHNICITY	Mean	SD	N*
Chinese	66.9333	18.4507	45
Indochinese	60.6842	14.9780	19
Korean	66.2963	21.1348	27
Filipino	62.9024	18.2251	123
Samoan	58.9773	17.2499	44
Other**	58.7083	20.6850	24

*Total N is less than 300 due to missing data
**It was felt that ethnicities with very small samples (of 5 or less) might not be representative of the groups involved.

Ethnic Groups and Essential Competencies

To examine the performances of the various ethnic groups in more detail, a two-way repeated-measures analysis of variance procedure was performed with subtest scores as the dependent variable and the following two independent variables: Essential Competencies (ECs are a repeated factor with 14 levels) and ethnicity (ETHNICITY is a grouping factor with six levels). The results of this ANOVA are shown in Table 4:

TABLE 4
Two-Way Repeated-Measures ANOVA Results for Essential Competencies (ECs) by Ethnicity

SOURCE	df	SS	MS	F	p
BETWEEN GROUPS	281	6858.47			
ETHNICITY	5	149.36	29.8723	1.2289	0.2957
GROUPS WITHIN ETHNICITY	276	6709.11	24.3084		
WITHIN GROUPS	3666	10566.80			
ECs	13	935.46	71.9584	28.1466	0.0000
ECs x ETHNICITY	65	458.37	7.0518	2.7583	0.0000
ECs x GROUPS WITHIN ETHNICITY	3588	9172.94	2.5566		
TOTAL	3947	17913.80			

As can be seen in Table 4, there is no significant difference between groups due to ethnicity, while significant F ratios were found within groups for the ECs as well as for the interaction effect of the two variables (ECs x ETHNICITY). That the differences due to ethnicity (on ECs combined) were not significant indicates that any differences observed among the means for the different ethnic groups can be interpreted as due to chance alone. The significant mean differences found among the ECs implies that at least some of the mean differences found among the various ECs (for all ethnicities combined) were different on the basis of something other than chance. The significant interaction effect between ethnicities and ECs indicates that some ethnicities scored relatively higher on some of the ECs while other ethnicities scored relatively higher on other ECs to the degree that the patterns are probably due to other than chance factors.

Descriptive statistics for the comparisons being made between Essential Competencies and ethnicity groupings are reported in Table 5. The first set of statistics is for the ECs when calculated across all ethnic groups. The second set is for ethnicities when calculated for all ECs:

TABLE 5
Descriptive Statistics for Essential Competencies and Ethnicity Groupings*

FACTOR	LEVEL	Mean	SD	N
ECs				
	EC1	4.96809	1.91892	282
	EC2	5.42199	2.06546	282
	EC3	4.12057	1.82304	282
	EC5	4.53191	2.65462	282
	EC6	4.44681	2.10887	282
	EC7	5.21631	2.02810	282
	EC8	3.82624	1.81775	282
	EC9	3.82624	1.99330	282
	EC10	4.97163	2.21751	282
	EC11	5.09574	2.11621	282
	EC12	4.68085	2.27572	282
	EC13	3.80496	1.91294	282
	EC14	3.54610	1.74117	282
	EC15	4.29433	1.90576	282
ETHNICITY				
	Chinese	4.78095	2.14934	45
	Indochinese	4.33459	1.98411	19
	Korean	4.73545	2.32479	27
	Filipino	4.49303	2.10536	123
	Samoan	4.21266	2.04945	44
	Other	4.19345	2.15547	24

*The statistics for the interactions of ECs and ETHNICITY are given in Table 6.

The means for each ethnic group on each of the ECs are shown in Table 6. The corresponding means for the NORM group are also given at the top of the table for comparison purposes. The overall trend is about the same for all of the ethnic groups, i.e., the subtests which were most difficult for one ethnic group (i.e., ECs 8, 9, 13, 14, and 15) were more difficult for all ethnic groups. Table 6 also shows that the same ECs have correspondingly lower means for the NORM group as well.

One seeming contradiction needs to be addressed. Even though no significant overall mean differences were found among the different ethnic groups, there are apparent differences in Table 6. It appears that one ethnic group may perform better than the others on one EC, while another ethnic group will perform best on the next EC. For example, the Chinese clearly scored highest on EC2, while the highest score for the Indochinese were on EC10, for the

Koreans on EC5, for the Filipinos on EC11, etc. The point is that such relative differences in performance among the ethnic groups throughout the data are the cause of the significant interaction effects reported in Table 4. Thus the significant interaction effects found in Table 4 are an indication that different groups perform better or worse on different ECs. However, when the effect is averaged out across ECs, the overall mean performances were not found to be significantly different for ETHNICITY.

TABLE 6
Mean Scores on EC Subtests for NORM Group and Predominant Ethnicities

GROUP	EC1	EC2	EC3	EC5	EC6	EC7	EC8
NORM Group	7.20	7.60	6.20	6.30	6.60	7.00	5.70
Chinese	5.18	6.11	4.24	6.44	4.78	5.36	4.29
Indochinese	4.95	5.05	3.89	4.37	4.84	4.95	2.89
Korean	5.15	5.59	4.33	6.70	5.04	5.93	3.48
Filipino	4.79	5.34	4.18	3.98	4.33	5.27	4.04
Samoan	5.07	5.07	4.20	3.18	4.11	4.84	3.34
Other	5.13	5.29	3.38	3.96	4.08	4.79	3.88

GROUP	EC9	EC10	EC11	EC12	EC13	EC14	EC15
NORM Group	5.90	7.00	7.40	6.50	5.40	5.00	5.80
Chinese	3.80	5.16	5.00	4.69	4.22	3.38	4.29
Indochinese	3.89	5.26	4.95	4.58	3.37	3.26	4.42
Korean	4.11	4.78	4.74	4.44	3.81	3.93	4.26
Filipino	3.71	5.20	5.33	4.90	3.66	3.66	4.52
Samoan	3.68	4.36	5.20	4.66	3.89	3.32	4.05
Other	4.38	4.54	4.38	3.92	3.96	3.50	3.54

In the same vein, it is interesting to note that on EC5 (Use of Computational Skills), the Chinese and Korean groups not only outperformed the other ethnicities, they also scored higher on average than the NORM group. The Chinese and Korean students may have performed better on this EC because 1) it required less language manipulation to perform the tasks required (i.e., answer mathematical problems), 2) some, or all, of the Chinese and Korean students had received superior mathematics training at some time during their lives, or 3) some combination of the above.

Concerning the comparisons between the ethnicities and the NORM group, it was pointed out in the discussion of Table 1 that the average overall performance of the SLEP students (i.e., all ethnic groups taken together) was found to be 63.46 points, while the mean for the NORM group was 89.60. This difference was also found to be statistically significant ($F = 206.21$, $p < .01$). More importantly, however, the difference between means for the SLEP and NORM groups was a large 26.14 points, which indicates that the NORM students scored 41% higher than the SLEP students. Clearly, the overall difference in performance between SLEP and NORM students is also reflected in each of the individual EC results as shown in Table 6. While the sources of systematic difference which are of most interest in this study are the variations in ethnic background, there may be many other underlying causes.

DISCUSSION

Research Question 1

What are the descriptive statistics for the HSTEC and each of its Essential Competency subtests for the ninth grade SLEP students and for a ninth grade norm group sampled from the entire population?

The descriptive statistics shown in Table 1 indicate that the overall HSTEC scores are reasonably well centered and dispersed for both the NORM and SLEP groups. However, more detailed analysis of the descriptive statistics for groups within the SLEP sample, whether based on the HIGH, MIDDLE, LOW, and NEP categories, or ethnicity (see Tables 2 and 3), indicate that such overall statistics miss important aspects of what is going on in these data. For instance, some SLEP students perform above the mean of the NORM group and some ethnic groups appear to outperform others.

Research Question 2

Do SLEP students constitute a group significantly different from the NORM group in terms of their overall HSTEC scores?

From the examination of the descriptive statistics presented in Tables 1 and 2, it appears that the SLEP students, as defined in this study, do indeed constitute a separate population. Not only was a statistically significant difference found between the overall means of the two groups (SLEP vs. NORM), but the difference was meaningful--amounting to 26.14 points. The SLEP group was also found to be significantly more homogeneous in the way that their scores varied around the mean. Thus the SLEP students can fairly safely be considered a separate population within the total group that took the test.

However, it was also clear that SLEP students vary in important ways in terms of their scores on the whole HSTEC, as well as on the individual ECs. By separating SLEP students (on the basis of the number of ECs that they passed) into the HIGH, MIDDLE, and LOW groups, it became apparent that the HIGH group of SLEP students performed better on average than the NORM group students. Hence, not all SLEP students are at risk of failing the HSTEC. However, the LOW and NEP groups appear to be similar in average performance and are clearly the students that must be carefully identified as those most at risk of failing the HSTEC (see J.D. Brown, 1990 for more on identifying such students).

Research Question 3

Are there any significant mean differences among ethnic groups (as determined by self-reported ethnicity) in the SLEP sample?

With a few exceptions, the overall difference between SLEP and NORM group students was also found at the subtest level. The one exception was that two of the groups, the Chinese and Koreans, performed above the NORM on EC5, which tested use of computational skills (see Table 6). In addition, the average score of 42 of the SLEP students, i.e., those categorized into the HIGH group, was higher than the NORM group average on all but two of the ECs.

Despite these exceptions, the performance of SLEP students classified in the MIDDLE, LOW, and NEP groups was consistently lower than the NORM group on each subtest. Moreover, those subtests which the NORM group found to be more difficult were also correspondingly more difficult for the SLEP groups. In addition, no significant differences were found for ethnicity, though there were clearly significant differences between the ECs, as well as significant interaction effects (see Tables 4, 5, and 6).

CONCLUSIONS

This study has discovered a number of apparent patterns in the data which can and should be used to help those SLEP students who are most at risk of failing the minimal competency test:

1) SLEP students can fairly safely be considered a separate population within the total group that took the test because a significant difference was found in mean performance between the SLEP students and the NORM group. In addition to being significant, this difference was a meaningful 26.14 points (on a scale of 140).
2) The performance of SLEP students classified in the LOW and NEP groups indicates that these are the students who must be identified for further help (see J.D. Brown, 1990 for strategies to identify such students).
3) No significant differences were found for ethnicity, though there were clearly significant differences between the ECs, as well as interactions between ethnicity and ECs. It was also noted that those subtests which the NORM group found to be more difficult were also correspondingly more difficult for the SLEP groups.

As hypothesized at the outset of this paper, the students' backgrounds (in terms of language and ethnicity) do affect their scores on standardized tests--at least in Hawaii. It seems obvious that those students needing help in overcoming this effect should receive comprehensive ESL training commensurate with the guidelines provided in Hale (1974) and TESOL (n.d.). However, in Hawaii, we feel that additional types of training might be necessary. Accordingly, specially designed materials have recently been developed to provide SLEP students with training in the

general linguistic and cultural content of the subject matter competencies being assessed by the HSTEC (Sajna & Brown, 1990), as well as with test-taking strategies (Z.A. Brown, 1989) that can also help them to succeed. The purpose of all of these efforts is to provide the LOW/NEP students with a "level playing field" when they sit down to demonstrate their subject matter competencies on the HSTEC. Such additional types of training may also prove useful in helping SLEP students in other states which have minimal competency tests.

Suggestions for Future Research

As with most research, more questions have been raised in the process of doing this study than have been answered directly. These include:

1) Will similar results be obtained during subsequent years in the State of Hawaii, as well as in other parts of the United States?
2) Are there identifiable linguistic characteristics for individual subtests, or even individual items, which might account for the observed overall differences between SLEP and NORM group performances?
3) Are there variations in the degree to which the performances of different ethnic groups are affected by linguistic, cultural, and background factors?
4) How can ESL students who are at risk of failing a state minimal competency test because of language problems be identified before taking the test so that they can receive appropriate linguistic instruction?

It is hoped that further studies will be conducted along these lines.

NOTES

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Frames and Coherence in Sam Shepard's *Fool for Love*

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This study in linguistic stylistics examines the coherence in Sam Shepard's play Fool for Love *by focussing on the relationship of speech exchanges to frames and the relationship of frames to one another. A frame, defined as the activity that the speakers are engaged in, consists of two types: (1) single-speaker frames, which involve only one speaker and an implied or passive listener, and (2) multi-speaker frames, which involve more than one speaker. The following paper, however, will examine only multi-speaker frames.*

Because frame analysis enables one to focus on units larger than those usually examined in linguistic stylistics, it can be seen to provide a clearer understanding of textual coherence in dramatic texts. Specifically, the study argues that both coherence in Shepard's play results when speech exchanges and frames are formed into patterns which the reader perceives as unified wholes, and that coherence may result when even discontinuous utterances are organized into a pattern which the reader can perceive as a unified whole. On a larger scale, it is shown that discontinous frames can themselves be arranged into a pattern which can be perceived as coherent by the reader, and that overall coherence depends not upon continuity between frames, but rather on the arrangement of discontinous or continuous frames into a coherent whole.

INTRODUCTION

Early studies in linguistic stylistics focused on minute elements such as cohesive devices as the primary units of analysis (Thorne, 1965; Halliday, 1970; Halliday & Hasan, 1976). The chief drawback with such an approach is that a distanced, holistic view of the text in its entirety is hardly ever possible. Attention did gradually shift from this narrow focus to a slightly wider view. Speech exchanges (chunks of discourse consisting of a series of utterances between two speakers) became the primary unit of study (Burton, 1980; Noguchi, 1984). But the problem with these studies was that no clear limits were set within which the terms of discourse

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could be encased. Thus, gaining insight into what constituted the structural unity of a text was still quite elusive.

This study proposes that in order to see a text as a coherent whole, it is important to break it up into the largest, most clearly defined units of discourse possible. Attention can then be focused on the elements which make up these units as well as on the way in which they function within the play as a whole. More specifically, attention can be focused on three areas: (1) how the smaller elements (e.g., topic words and transitional phrases, both of which will be discussed later in the analysis) make up and sustain a speech exchange or a piece of conversation (i.e., a series of logical, relevant utterances between two speakers); (2) how utterances and speech exchanges are incorporated into larger units (frames); and (3) how frames themselves and the relationship between frames result in coherence. Such attention will be achieved by linguistically analyzing the principles governing coherence in Sam Shepard's (1984) play, *Fool for Love.*

Given the aims of the present study, Shepard's play (hereafter, *FFL*), can provide valuable data. The primary reason it was chosen for the examination of the principles of coherence in drama is that, as with many contemporary dramatists (e.g., Beckett, Ionesco, and Pinter), Shepard essentially depicts talk or conversation as ends in themselves. Shepard's dialogues, therefore, lend themselves conveniently to an analysis which focuses mainly on language.

What makes Shepard's play *FFL* especially attractive for this study is its seeming disjointedness or lack of coherence. The play is characterized, for example, by sudden shifts in topics within speech exchanges and by the occasional lack of transitional phrases between one topic and another. However, this disjointedness may be illusory if utterances are seen as fitting within frames. That is, even though the utterances may be discontinous, a certain continuity may appear if these utterances are seen as parts of larger units. Similarly, while the sudden transition from one activity to another in the play creates a seeming disjointedness between frames, continuity between frames might become apparent if all these frames are seen as incorporated into a still larger frame. By continually seeing smaller, disjointed elements as parts of naturally occurring larger units, and by focusing on the relationship between those larger units, an approach which uses frame analysis may be able to establish continuity and coherence in *FFL.*

Since the field of linguistic stylistics (or linguistic criticism

as it is sometimes called) is by nature interdisciplinary, the present study will make use of research conducted not only in linguistics, but also in the associated areas of discourse analysis, sociology, cognitive science, and literature. More specifically, this examination of coherence will differ from traditional discourse studies of literature in that it will concentrate on frame analysis, an aspect of sociology and cognitive science which, to my knowledge, has thus far not been used to examine coherence in literary texts. The first section of this study lays out the theories of coherence and frames adopted for this study; the next section analyzes selections from Shepard's play in light of these theories; the final section draws conclusions from the analysis.

Linde's Theory of Coherence

Several experts in discourse analysis, anthropology, and stylistics (e.g., Tannen 1979, 1982, 1987; Linde, 1987; Lundquist, 1985; Giora, 1985) have proposed different definitions of coherence. This study adopts Linde's approach (1987).[1] Defining coherence very specifically, she says:

> Coherence is a property of texts; it is one set of relations by which we may analyze a text. Specifically, the coherence of a text consists of the relations that the parts of the text bear to one another. A text may be described as coherent if its parts, whether on the word level, phrase level, sentence level, semantic level, or level of larger units can be seen as being in a proper relation to one another and to the text as a whole.
>
> (p. 346)

This particular study shall concern itself with cohering devices at the word and phrase level (e.g., topic words, repetitions of words and phrases). It will also adopt Linde's terms of causality, continuity and discontinuity. Continuity and discontinuity will be established by closely studying the dialogues in the play, *FFL*, in terms of (a) whether or not utterances are related to each other, and (b) whether or not utterances are related to the topic. Causality will be established by isolating the causes of continuity or discontinuity between utterances.

Linde (1987) develops and illustrates her approach to coherence specifically in relation to the narration of life stories. She states that a life story, both linguistically and psychologically, must have the property of coherence, but this coherence is "not a property

of the life, but rather an achievement of the speaker in constructing the story" (p. 346).

One can, presumably, analyze coherence in drama along the same lines. That is, adapting Linde's view, coherence is not a property of the details of the story, but rather the result of the dramatist's ability to construct a story such that those details form a coherent whole. Going a step further, coherence is also the result of the reader being able to perceive and use frames as a way of making sense of that story. The analyst, like the dramatist, looks for causality and not connexity, for causality results from the *organization* and not the mere relatedness of details. This study will restrict itself to understanding coherence from the point of view of the reader.

One of the main objectives of this study is to show that coherence in speech exchanges, as they occur in drama, may result when discontinuous utterances are organized into a pattern which the reader can perceive as a unified whole. Similarly, it will be shown that discontinuous frames can also be arranged into patterns that reveal themselves when closely studied by the reader. This arrangement (and perception) of discontinuous elements into a coherent whole is explained by Linde (1987) as a form of "management of discontinuity" which she calls "discontinuity as continuity," a strategy by which a speaker "uses a series of discontinuous events to establish that discontinuity forms a continuity" (pp. 347-350).

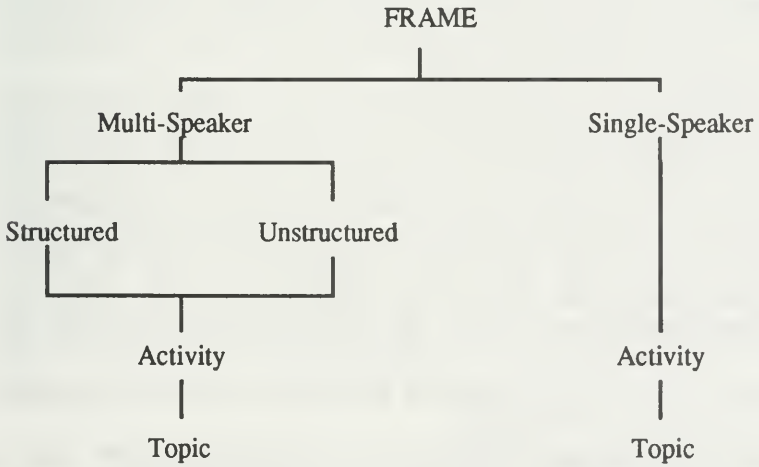
Defining Frames

Linde's work on causality, continuity, and discontinuity provides this study with adequate terms and definitions which may be applied to an analysis of spoken discourse in drama. The definition of frame, developed in and adopted for this study, however, is a synthesis of the work of several theorists in various related fields. The concept of frame has its roots in cognitive science (Minsky, 1980; Agar & Hobbs, 1985), and it has been adopted by many associated fields. For the purposes of this study, I will define a frame as *the activity the speakers are engaged in*. Defined in this way a frame can be seen as a unit of discourse larger than the units previously described by discourse analysts. Secondly, partly for the sake of convenience and partly because this study is an examination of discourse in drama, frame is deliberately limited to an activity involving *speakers*, rather than speakers and

hearers or speakers and listeners, though hearers and listeners are not completely ignored. Participants in a conversation normally consist of speakers *and* listeners or hearers, and insofar as a hearer can also be a speaker and a speaker a hearer, the term *speakers* will be used to refer to both types of participants regardless of their roles at any particular moment. Further, there are occasions and conventions in drama which call for frames involving *only* a speaker, or a speaker and a listener who does not contribute to the conversation (e.g., a bystander). In such cases (e.g., soliloquies, asides), the term *speaker* is a more appropriate term than speaker-hearer.

A frame and its related parts is illustrated in Figure 1:

Figure 1: Types of Frames



As can be seen in Figure 1, there are essentially two types of frames: one built around the activity that engages more than one speaker (a multi-speaker frame), the other involving just one speaker (a single-speaker frame). A multi-speaker frame, which this study examines, includes two kinds of relationships, referred to by this study as the *structured relationship* and the *unstructured relationship*. It is argued that the kind of relationship existing between speakers determines to a large extent the activities they will engage in and the topics that can be discussed. A single-speaker frame, on the other hand, normally takes the form of an extended narrative, the telling of a life story, a soliloquy, or the like. While a life story or extended narrative implies the presence of a listener, it is important to note

that the listener in these cases is often or largely passive, contributing little or nothing to the interaction. Thus, such activities can be seen as centering around just one speaker.

Not only does the activity the speakers engage in determine the nature of the topics they will talk about, topics, to some extent, also govern what speakers will say to each other. Continuity or discontinuity in a sequence of utterances can thus largely be determined by examining these utterances in relation to each other, to the topic, and to the activity of the speakers.

Figure 1 also indicates that the kind of relationship between speakers will determine, to a large extent, the activity and topic of the talk. A structured relationship is bound by definite restrictions which can be observed by the speakers as well as by outsiders. This is a conventionalized relationship whose restrictions are those of propriety, activity, and topic. An unstructured relationship, on the other hand, is one in which these restrictions are not quite as clear and may be lacking altogether.

Both structured and unstructured relationships are difficult to illustrate by examples which cut across time and location, since historical and cultural forces determine conventions. A structured relationship can, perhaps, be suggested by the teacher-student relationship. In Western societies, or at least in contemporary American universities, such a relationship is bound by certain conventions and restrictions. Any utterance in which a student overstepped one of these restrictions would be recognized by the teacher as unexpected or discontinuous. Moreover, this discontinuity would be recognized by observers familiar with the conventions of the relationship.

An unstructured relationship is somewhat easier than a structured relationship to illustrate in the abstract. Perhaps the clearest illustration of an unstructured relationship is that between a husband and wife or between two lovers. If two lovers got together, say, to discuss finances, either could introduce topics at will, and even a complete change of topic might not amount to a violation of the boundaries of the relationship. It is important to remember that in an unstructured relationship the speakers have a past history and a shared knowledge to refer to. An utterance perceived as discontinuous by an observer might thus seem so only because the observer is not privy to the knowledge shared by the speakers.

Continuity or discontinuity of utterances within a speech exchange is thus dependent in large part on the relationship that exists between the speakers. Since it is easier to break the

restrictions of a structured relationship, an utterance which does so can be perceived to be discontinuous not only by the speakers (or at least one of them) but by outsiders as well. In contrast, it is harder to break the restrictions of an unstructured relationship because only the speakers know and maintain those restrictions and because speakers in an unstructured relationship can fall back on a considerably greater amount of shared knowledge. In such a case, what is perceived by particular speakers to be continuous (or at least what is allowed to be continuous), then, can be perceived by an observer to be discontinuous.

To sum up at this point, the kind of relationship existing between speakers will determine, or at least limit, the kinds of activities they can engage in. A structured relationship will permit a narrower range of activities between speakers than an unstructured relationship. Continuity and discontinuity, then, within speech exchanges, is largely determined by the relationship between the speakers. Temporal connections between utterances, existing in the speech exchanges of both structured and unstructured relationships, might be a sufficient cause of continuity between utterances. While in an unstructured relationship such a temporal ordering might not exist, the utterances could still be continuous, depending upon the degree of shared knowledge the speakers were willing to rely on. Similarly, activities between speakers may be continuous or discontinuous, depending on the implied or stated topic or on the kinds of activities permitted by the relationship of the speakers.

Patterns in Multi-Speaker Frames

Thus far, this study has discussed the theory and definition of frames and suggested an analysis of principles governing structural unity and coherence of literary texts. The present section will analyze Shepard's *Fool for Love* in terms of frames in an effort to illustrate structured and unstructured relationships in multi-speaker frames. By exemplifying the main activities of the speakers and the central themes of the play, the passages chosen for analysis will provide key data in establishing the principles and patterns of continuity, discontinuity, and coherence within and between multi-speaker frames.

Unstructured Relationships in Multi-Speaker Frames

The first passage for analysis, Example 1, illustrates not only a pattern formed by discontinuous utterances within a frame but also a pattern repeated throughout the play. This pattern, characteristic of the relationship between Eddie and May, is one of approach-avoidance or attraction-rejection and is revealed here in the activities of PLACATING and QUARRELING, which form two separate subframes (activities) but which, as will be shown, may be taken as one unit. *Quarreling* is here defined as a conversational interaction involving overt verbal conflict, such as that between Eddie and May throughout much of the play. *Placating* is defined as actions on the part of one participant to calm or appease another, such as in Eddie's continual efforts to quiet and soothe May's anger.

An analysis of the dialogue in Example 1 will show that the two subframes, QUARRELING and PLACATING, are subsumed under a still larger frame, namely, VACILLATING. Vacillation may be defined as the irresolute movement between two or more choices and can be seen in Eddie and May's continual hesitation over whether or not they will stay together. As will be shown, this indecisiveness is not only apparent both in their utterances and activities, it is present in and mirrored by the pattern of discontinuity existing within and between subframes.

The opening scene[2] of Shepard's *Fool for Love* introduces the reader to the argumentative and vacillating nature of Eddie and May's relationship. Eddie tosses his glove on the table and begins to assure May he will never leave her.

Example 1: VACILLATING

	Eddie: (*seated, tossing glove on the table.*	1
	Short pause) May, look, May? I'm not **goin'** anywhere. See? I'm right here. I'm not **gone**. Look. (*she won't*) I don't know why you won't	
A1	just look at me. You know it's me. Who else do you think it is. (*pause*) You want some water or somethin'? Huh? (*he gets up slowly, goes cautiously to her, strokes her head softly, she stays still*) May? Come on. You can't just sit around here like this. How long you been	10
	sittin' here anyway? You want me to go outside and get you something? Some potato chips or something? (*she suddenly grabs his closest leg with both arms and holds tight burying her head between his knees*) I'm not gonna' **leave**. Don't	

worry. I'm not gonna **leave**. I'm stayin' right here. I already told ya' that. (*she squeezes tighter to his leg, he just stands there, strokes her head softly*) May? Let go, okay? Honey? I'll put you back in bed. Okay? (*she grabs his other leg and holds on tight to both*) Come on. I'll put you in bed and make you some hot tea or somethin'. You want some tea? (*she shakes her head violently, keeps holding on*) With lemon? Some Ovaltine? May, you gotta' let go of me now, okay? (*pause, then she pushes him away and returns to her original position*) Now just lay back and try to relax. (*he starts*

B1 *to try to push her back gently on the bed as he pulls back the blankets. She erupts furiously, leaping off bed and lashing out at him with her fists. He backs off. She returns to bed and stares at him wild-eyed and angry, faces him squarely*)

Eddie: (*after pause*) You want me to **go**?
(*She shakes her head.*)

May: No!

Eddie: Well, what do you want then?

May: You **smell**.

Eddie: I **smell**.

May: You do.

Eddie: I been drivin' for days.

May: Your fingers smell.

Eddie: Horses.

May: Pussy.

Eddie: Come on, May.

May: They **smell** like metal.

Eddie: I'm not gonna' start this shit.

May: Rich pussy. Very clean.

Eddie: Yeah, sure.

May: You know it's true.

A2 Eddie: I came to see if you were all right.

B2 May: I don't need you!

Eddie: Okay. (***turns to go***, *collects his glove and bucking strap*) Fine.

May: **Don't go**!

Eddie: **I'm goin'**.
(*He exits stage-left door, slamming it behind him; the door booms.*)

May: (*agonized scream*) **Don't go**!!!

(Shepard, 1984, pp. 21-22)

Keeping in mind that a frame is the activity the speakers are engaged in, the passage above may be seen as one overall frame of VACILLATING. A1 and A2 may be seen as components of the subframe PLACATING, and B1 and B2 as components of the subframe QUARRELING. In A1, Eddie promises May he will never leave, strokes her head, tries to put her to bed, and offers her potato chips and Ovaltine. May allows herself to be somewhat placated in this frame and "squeezes tighter to his leg" (ll. 17-18). At B1, however, May suddenly "erupts furiously" and lashes out at Eddie "with her fists" (ll. 30-32). Clearly, the activity the speakers were engaged in has changed from PLACATING to QUARRELING. They fight bitterly, with May facing Eddie "squarely" and accusing him of being unfaithful. A2 and B2 represent sudden shifts in subframes. At A2, Eddie attempts once again to PLACATE May ("I came to see if you were all right" l. 52). But at B2, May attacks Eddie ("I don't need you" l. 53). The shift from PLACATING (A2, l. 51) to QUARRELING (B2, l. 52) is a repetition of the shift which occurred from PLACATING (A1, l. 5) to PLACATING (B1, l. 29). The later shift, however, is sudden in comparison with the earlier, more gradual shift. The shift from PLACATING to QUARRELING at A2 and B2 takes place within one line; the shift from A1 to B1 occurs over the space of some 29 lines. The passage ends as Eddie slams the door and May pleads "Don't go!!!" (l. 60).

The dramatized conversation in Example 1, in which Eddie vacillates about whether he will stay or go, and May vacillates about whether she wants him to stay or go can be summarized and categorized by the word **go**. If repetition is one way of determining topic, then the word "go" identifies the topic insofar as it (or one of its variants such as "goin'," "gone," "leave,") is repeated nine times in the passage.

Yet, this passage also shows several abrupt changes of topics and subframes. At B1, the topic suddenly changes from Eddie's leaving or staying, summarized by the word **go**, to Eddie's infidelity, summarized and categorized by the word **smell**. The repetition of the word "smell" 4 times in 12 lines reflects this shift. In A2, Eddie again attempts to PLACATE May by assuring her he doesn't want to **leave** ("I came to see if you were all right," l. 52), reverting obliquely back to his original topic. At B2, May again lashes out at Eddie ("I don't need you," l. 53), continuing to QUARREL with him.

Eddie and May's exchanges in Example 1 exemplify how topics, utterances, and frames interrelate and influence one another. As mentioned earlier, Eddie and May cannot make up their minds whether they will stay together or part. Their indecisiveness is reflected in the movement between PLACATING and QUARRELING, and the constant shifting back and forth between these frames is caused by and results in utterances which often seem illogical and irrelevant to the preceding utterance. For instance, May's utterance in line 39 ("You smell") is not an answer, or at least, a direct answer, to Eddie's question in line 38 ("Well, what do you want then"). Nor is Eddie's placating gesture in line 52 ("I came to see if you were all right") directly related to May's insistence in line 51 that Eddie has been unfaithful ("You know it's true").

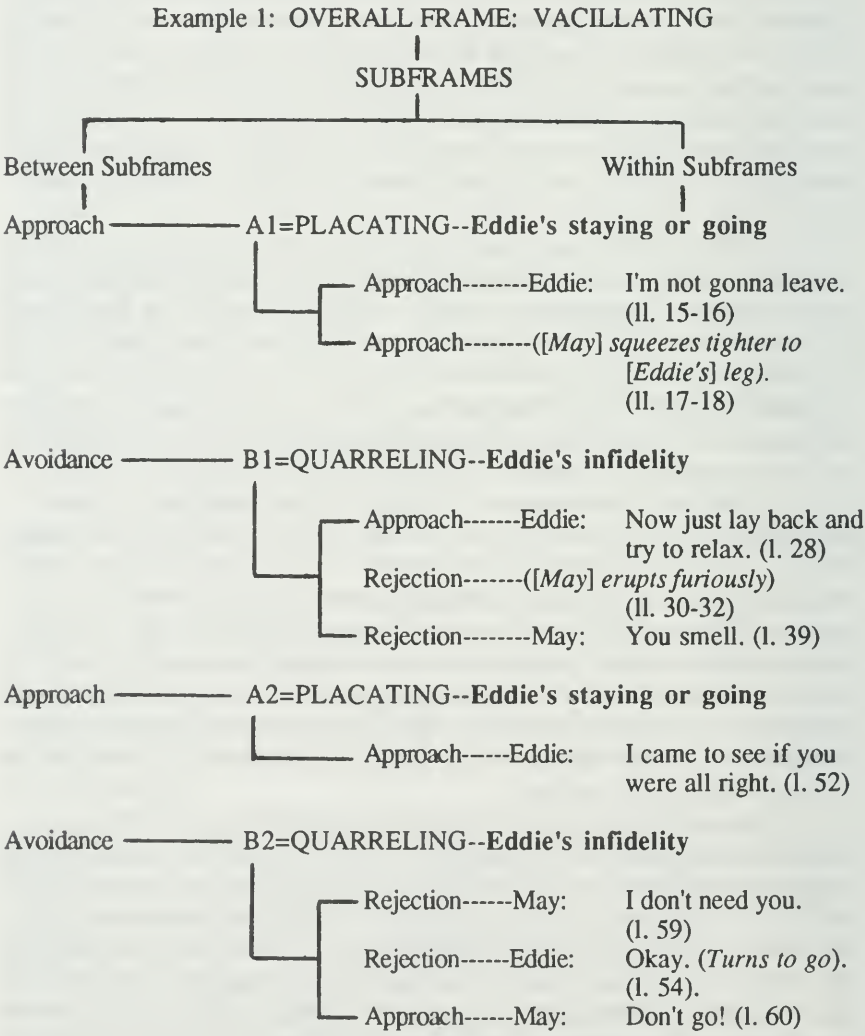
In both cases, the seemingly irrelevant and discontinuous responses result from the speaker's deliberate attempt to change the topic (and thereby also the frame). In line 39, when May changes the topic from Eddie's staying or leaving (**go**) to the topic of his infidelity (**smell**), the frame changes from PLACATING to QUARRELING. Eddie's utterance in line 52 indicates *his* attempt to change the conversational topic from his infidelity to his staying, and to change the frame from QUARRELING to PLACATING.

Although utterances between Eddie and May form a discontinuous set, their speech exchanges within the designated frames are not necessarily incoherent. In the first place, their relationship is an intimate one, and hence, basically unstructured. As was discussed earlier, in an unstructured relationship, not only do the speakers have a certain amount of shared knowledge and past history to rely on, they alone are truly aware of the boundaries and restrictions of their relationship, and so what seems discontinuous to an outsider (i.e., the reader of the play) may not seem discontinuous to the speakers themselves.

Secondly, the utterances between Eddie and May form a characteristic pattern. This pattern is one of approach- avoidance or attraction-rejection, resulting from and reinforcing the speakers' habitual vacillation. The repetition of this pattern allows the formation of coherent speech exchanges. These speech exchanges then can be seen as activities the speakers are engaged in, and the activities themselves can be seen as coherent units of discourse identified as subframes. Finally, the subframes of PLACATING and QUARRELING are themselves subsumed under the larger frame of VACILLATING. Thus, the pattern formed by seemingly

discontinuous sets of utterances within the individual speech exchanges is representative of and mirrored by the pattern formed by discontinuous activities or subframes. This pattern may be represented in Figure 2:

Figure 2



The above diagram of a VACILLATING frame shows (1) the pattern formed by utterances or by activities described in stage

directions within subframes, (2) the relationship of those utterances or activities to each other and to the topic of the subframe, and (3) the pattern formed between the subframes themselves. For instance, within subframe A1 (PLACATING), Eddie's utterance ("I'm not gonna leave," ll. 15-16) and May's response (*she squeezes tighter to his leg*, ll. 17-18) indicate the characters' attempts to be close to one another. Hence, the pattern formed by the utterances and the activities given in stage directions may be called approach-approach. The subframe takes its name from Eddie's efforts to calm May (PLACATING), and the topic of the subframe is **Eddie's staying or going**. Within subframe B1 (QUARRELING), Eddie's utterance ("Now just lay back and try to relax," l. 28) may be seen as another attempt to be close to May, but May's response (*she erupts furiously*, l. 30) and her utterance ("You smell," l. 30) are a rejection of Eddie. Hence, the pattern formed by the utterances and the activities given in stage directions may be called approach-avoidance or approach-rejection. The subframe takes its name from the overt verbal conflict (QUARRELING), and the topic of the subframe is **Eddie's infidelity**.

Similarly, since subframe A2 contains an utterance suggesting approach on Eddie's part ("I came to see if you were all right," l. 52), the subframe takes its name from Eddie's continued effort to calm May (PLACATING). The topic is **Eddie's staying or going**. Within subframe B2, however, May's utterance indicating rejection ("I don't need you," l. 53) is met by Eddie's rejecting utterance and rejecting action ("Okay." {*Turns to go*}), which in turn elicits May's utterance indicating approach ("Don't go!," l. 56). Hence, the pattern formed by the utterances and activities in B2 may be called rejection-rejection-approach. The topic is a reversion back to **Eddie's infidelity**. The frame takes its name from the overt verbal conflict (QUARRELING). The suddenness of the shift in frames between A2 and B2 is due in part to the rapid change in topics and in part to the swift juxtaposition of the activities PLACATING and QUARRELING.

It can be seen, then, that within subframes A1 and A2 the utterances and activities given in stage directions form a pattern of approach-approach and that within subframes B1 and B2 the utterances and activities given in stage directions form a pattern of approach-avoidance. This pattern is also repeated on the larger scale of the frames themselves, for it can be seen that as A1 moves into B1 and as A2 moves into B2 the pattern of approach-avoidance is repeated: Eddie and May attempt to be close to each other (A1, A2)

but soon begin to fight (B1, B2). In this way, the pattern formed between utterances and activities given in stage directions *within* subframes is duplicated by the pattern formed *by* the subframes themselves. That is, the pattern which is characteristic of Eddie and May's individual utterances is characteristic as well of the larger activities (frames) which are made up of those utterances. In this way utterances may be seen as parts of larger units, or frames, and frames--activities--as units of conversational interaction. Frames themselves can even be subframes when incorporated into larger units, the designation frame or subframe indicating merely a difference in degree, not in kind.

The activities (subframes) of PLACATING and QUARRELING may also be seen to be parts of a larger unit which is subsumed under the larger activity (frame) of VACILLATING. As shown in Figure 2, Eddie and May never seem to be able to make up their minds as to whether they will stay together or split up. In A1 (ll. 15-16), Eddie assures May he will never leave. In B2 (ll. 54), Eddie walks out. In A1 (ll. 17-18), May holds tight to Eddie. In B1 (ll. 39), she accuses him of infidelity, in B2 (ll. 53), she tells him she doesn't need his solicitation, and in B2 (ll. 56), she begs him not to leave. Of course, the activity or frame of VACILLATING need not necessarily consist of the two activities or subframes of PLACATING and QUARRELING. People can vacillate about any decision, and the possible activities which can make up a vacillating relationship are almost endless. In the play, Shepard chooses to show the particular relationship between Eddie and May as one in which both characters hesitate and vacillate about whether they will stay together or part. The topics of their conversations are particular to their own lives; their activities are a result of their life situation. Their inability to decide whether to stay together or split up in effect defines their relationship.

Example 1, then, illustrates that coherence may be present despite seeming discontinuity, in accordance with Linde's fundamental notion of "discontinuity as continuity." The conversational interaction in Example 1 shows that, first, utterances within a subframe, though they form discontinuous sets, achieve continuity because they are related to specific topics. Second, topics, although superficially discontinuous, achieve an underlying continuity because they are related to a specific activity which the speakers engage in. Third, activities the speakers are engaged in (frames), although discontinuous, achieve continuity because they are related to a central activity involving all the characters (here

Eddie and May). Thus, in Example 1, apparently discontinuous elements--e.g., Eddie's trying to placate May, May's partial submission and sudden lashing out at Eddie, May's accusing Eddie of infidelity and his trying to change the topic, May's refusal to allow herself to be soothed and her telling Eddie to go, Eddie's threatening to go and May's begging him to stay, Eddie's slamming of the door and May's pleas of "Don't go"--present the reader with the first manifestation of the frame VACILLATING, which subsumes and, ultimately, unites the discontinuities found in the play. The utterances, topics, and subframes may seem discontinuous, but they are not necessarily incoherent. If vacillating implies irresolute action, that irresolution is evident in the shifts not only in utterances and topics but also in frames. As Linde indicates, coherence is not a property of the details of a story, but rather an achievement of the artist in the construction of his story.

Although QUARRELING and PLACATING are the chief activities Eddie and May engage in, the two characters have some brief nonconflictive, even tender moments. But even when they do, one can discern the VACILLATING which characterizes the central activity of the play. This is evident in Example 2, in which the instability of Eddie and May's relationship is reflected even in a frame involving LOVEMAKING. Lovemaking may be defined as actions involving wooing or courting in order to seek favor or affection, and may be seen to differ from placating in terms of motive (the former seeks primarily to gain affection, the latter primarily to quiet or calm) and in terms of cause (placating presumes a grievance, lovemaking does not).

Example 2, like Example 1, demonstrates how discontinuous sets of utterances can form coherent wholes as subframes and how discontinuous subframes can form coherent wholes as parts of larger frames. The overall frame in Example 2 is VACILLATING; the subframes are QUARRELING and LOVEMAKING.

Example 2: VACILLATING

C1	Eddie:	You know how many miles I went outa' my way just to come here and see you? You got any idea?	1
	May:	Nobody asked you to come.	
	Eddie:	Two thousand, four hundred and eighty.	
	May:	Yeah? Where were you, Katmandu or something?	
	Eddie:	Two thousand, four hundred and eighty	

		miles.	
	May:	So what!	10
		more than anything **I** ever **missed** in my whole life. **I** kept thinkin' about **you** the whole time **I** was driving. Kept seeing **you**. Sometimes just a part of **you**.	
	May:	Which part?	
	Eddie:	Your **neck**.	
	May:	My **neck**?	
	Eddie:	Yeah.	20
	May:	You **missed** my **neck**?	
	Eddie:	**I missed** all of **you** but your **neck** kept coming up for some reason. I kept **crying** about your **neck**.	
	May:	**Crying**?	
	Eddie:	[. . .] Yeah. **Weeping**. Like a little baby. Uncontrollable. **It** would just start up and stop and then start up all over again. For miles. I couldn't stop **it**. Cars would pass me on the	30
		road. People would stare at me. My face was all twisted up. I couldn't stop my face.	
C2	May:	Was this before or after your little **fling with the Countess**?	
	Eddie:	[. . .] There wasn't any **fling with** any **Countess**!	
	May:	You're a liar.	

(Shepard, 1984, pp. 23-24)

Lines 1-10 represent the QUARRELING subframe (C1), lines 11-33 the LOVEMAKING subframe (D1), and lines 34-38 a return to QUARRELING (C2). An examination of Example 2 reveals that the utterances of Eddie and May are more continuous within the LOVEMAKING subframe (ll. 11-33) than those which occur at the start of subframe C2 (ll. 34-35). All the utterances within subframe D1 (ll. 11-33) seem logically relevant to each other and to the three topics in this subframe: **Eddie's missing of May**, **May's neck**, and **Eddie's crying**. These topics are indicated by the repetition of key words: "missed" is repeated 5 times in 9 moves, "neck" is repeated 5 times, and "crying" ("weeping," "it") is repeated 5 times. **Crying,** introduced as a topic with **neck** in lines 24 and 25, becomes the topic for the rest of the subframe (ll. 25-33).

These moments of LOVEMAKING, however, are brief, and soon give way to further QUARRELING. This abrupt shift of subframes, from LOVEMAKING to QUARRELING, occurs at lines 33-35. May's response to Eddie's attempts to tell May how much he missed her also represents a sudden shift in topics from **Eddie's missing of May** to **Eddie's infidelity**. May's response ("Was this before or after your little fling with the Countess?", ll. 34-35) is discontinuous to Eddie's previous utterance ("My face was all twisted up. I couldn't stop my face," ll. 31-33). The topic in subframe C2 is thus **fling with Countess**, and, as can be seen, is a resumption of the earlier quarrel about Eddie's infidelity.

Coherence, more apparent in subframe D1 (LOVEMAKING) than in the subframes subsumed under Example 1, is a result of continuity or relevance between utterances. The topics--**Eddie's missing of May** and **May's neck**--are related as Eddie tells May that at times he **missed** "just a **part**" of her (ll. 11-16), and when to her question "Which **part**?" (l. 17) he answers "Your **neck**" (l. 18). The topics--**May's neck** and **Eddie's crying**--are related as Eddie tells May that he couldn't stop **crying** about her **neck** (l. 24).

But no such continuity or relevance connects the subframes C1, D1, and C2; yet, they can be seen to form a coherent whole under the overall frame of VACILLATING. Coherence in Example 2 thus results from the organization of discontinuous elements into the pattern of approach-avoidance or attraction-rejection, which was similarly seen in Example 1. Here, as QUARRELING leads to LOVEMAKING and returns to QUARRELING, the VACILLATING pattern so characteristic of Eddie and May's unstructured relationship provides one with a coherent view of the central activity which will engage all the characters of the play.

As in Example 1, the pattern formed by discontinuous sets of utterances within the individual speech exchanges in Example 2 is representative of and mirrored by the pattern formed by discontinuous activities or subframes. This pattern formed by the conversational interaction in Example 2 may be represented by Figure 3.

Figure 3

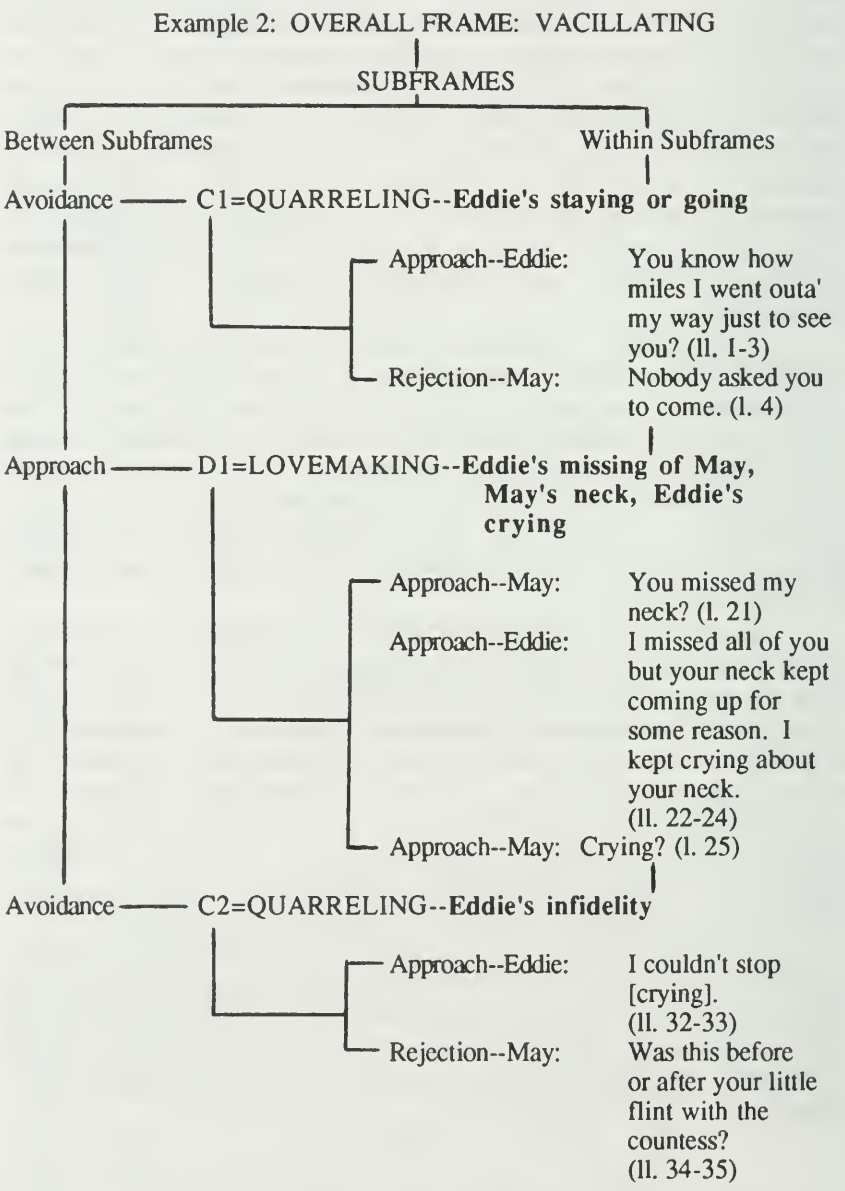


Figure 3, a VACILLATING frame like that in Example 1, shows the pattern formed by utterances within subframes, the relationship of those utterances to each other and to the topic of the

subframe, and the pattern formed between the subframes themselves. Within subframe C1 (QUARRELING), Eddie's utterance "You know how many miles I went outa' my way just to see you?" (ll. 1-3), an attempt to approach May, is met with her rejection ("Nobody asked you to come," l. 4). This is the same pattern of approach-avoidance evidenced in QUARRELING frame B1 in Example 1. In Subframe C1 of Example 2, Eddie and May can be seen to be quarreling about the topic of **Eddie's staying or going**, and the subframe (as in Example 1) takes its name from the overt verbal conflict between Eddie and May.

Within subframe D1 (LOVEMAKING), May's utterance "You missed my neck?" (l. 21), Eddie's response ("I missed all of you but your neck kept coming up for some reason. I kept crying about your neck?" ll. 21-24), and May's response ("Crying?" l. 25), indicate the characters' attempts to be close to one another. The pattern here is the same as the pattern which occurred in the PLACATING subframe A1 in Example 1--approach-approach. In Example 2, however, the subframe takes its name from the mutual activity of LOVEMAKING, in which the topics are **Eddie's missing of May**, **May's neck**, and **Eddie's crying**.

Within subframe C2 (QUARRELING), Eddie's utterance ("I couldn't stop [crying]," ll. 29-30) represents an approach towards May. Her response ("Was this before or after your little fling with the countess?" ll. 34-35), however, is a rejection of Eddie. Hence, the utterances in this subframe, like the utterances in C1 of Example 2 and B1 of Example 1, form a pattern of approach-avoidance. This subframe also takes its name from the overt verbal conflict apparent in the conversational interaction between Eddie and May, whose topic is **Eddie's infidelity**.

It should be noted that in Example 2, while the utterances within subframe D1 (LOVEMAKING) are continuous with each other, the utterances within subframes C1 and C2 (QUARRELING) form discontinuous sets. One might conclude that the reason for the discontinuity lies in the activity of QUARRELING itself; that when an utterance indicating approach is met by a rejecting utterance, discontinuity results. As a corollary, one may reason that when an utterance indicating approach is met by acceptance, continuity will result. However, the discontinuous sets of utterances in C1 and C2 can be seen to form a unified whole as a subframe or activity of QUARRELING, just as the continuous sets of utterances in D1 form a unified whole as a subframe or activity of LOVEMAKING. In this way, discontinuous elements can be made to form a

continuity.

The subframes themselves reflect the same pattern of approach-avoidance as C1 moves into D1 then to C2. C1 (QUARRELING) is an activity characterized by avoidance, D1 (LOVEMAKING) is an activity characterized by approach, C2 (QUARRELING) an activity characterized by avoidance. The overall pattern, thus, may be seen as avoidance-approach-avoidance. These discontinuous elements, like the discontinuous elements within the subframes C1 and C2, can be seen to form a coherent whole under the general frame or activity VACILLATING. Again, this pattern shows how discontinuous elements can, by careful arrangement, be made to form a continuity which, in each case, reveals itself as a frame or subframe of activities the characters are engaged in.

Finally, it should be pointed out that the VACILLATING in this frame consists of the activities or subframes of QUARRELING and LOVEMAKING, rather than the activities or subframes of QUARRELING and PLACATING as in Example 1. People can vacillate about any decision, and while the form the vacillation takes will always exhibit itself as an irresolute movement, the activities which compose that indecision can encompass a wide range of possibilities. In Example 1, Eddie and May cannot decide whether to stay together or part. In Example 2, they cannot decide whether to fight or make love. In either case, it is vacillation which seems to define their relationship.

Structured Relationships in Multi-Speaker Frames

The analysis of *Fool for Love* has so far focused on frames and subframes built around two speakers sharing an unstructured relationship. Furthermore, the analysis has looked at frames in two ways: by examining the relationship between subframes and frames, and by looking at the smaller elements within frames (e.g., speech exchanges, continuous and discontinuous utterances, topics, and the ways topics are determined). In contrast, what follows is an analysis of a frame built around two speakers who share a structured relationship: that between Eddie and Martin, May's supposed new lover.

Before Martin actually appears, he is alluded to in a frame in which Eddie and May once again are QUARRELING about whether Eddie will stay or leave. This frame, represented by Example 3, shows Eddie as jealous and threatening:

Example 3: QUARRELING

Eddie: (*standing slowly*) I'll **go**.
May: You better.
Eddie: Why?
May: You just better.
Eddie: I thought you wanted me to **stay**.
May: I got **somebody** coming to get me.
Eddie: (*short pause, on his feet*) Here?
May: Yeah, here. Where else?
Eddie: (*makes a move toward her upstage*) You been **seeing somebody**!
May: (*she moves quickly downleft, crosses right*) When was the last time we were together, Eddie? Huh? Can you remember that far back?
Eddie: **Who**'ve you been **seeing**?
(*He moves violently toward her.*)
May: Don't you touch me! Don't you even think about it.
Eddie: How long have you been **seeing him**!
May: What difference does it make!
(*Short pause. He stares at her, then turns suddenly and exits out the stage-left door and slams it behind him. Door booms.*)
May: Eddie! **Where are you going**? Eddie!

(Shepard, 1984, p. 28)

The activity of the whole passage is QUARRELING. From lines 1-5, the topic is **go/stay**. In line 6, the topic changes to **somebody** (the reason May now wants Eddie to leave), and then quickly to **seeing somebody** (the reason for Eddie's jealousy). In lines 6-19, the word "somebody" ("who," "him") is repeated 4 times in 9 moves, the word "seeing" 3 times. This frame and the topic **go/stay** are concluded by Eddie's exit and May's utterance in line 24. After this sequence, Eddie continues acting like a jealous lover until the appearance of Martin (Shepard, p. 41), a behavior pattern which prepares the reader for a meeting between antagonists. Indeed it is this hostility between the jealous lover and the "new guy" which is part of the structured nature of a relationship, and the boundaries and conditions imposed by that hostility would tend to rule out attempts at understanding, friendliness, humor, compassion, or familiarity. Any utterance which tries to bridge the gap between the two speakers in such a relationship may thus be

considered a crossing of the line drawn between two opponents, a line perceivable both to the involved participants as well as an outsider.

The meeting scene, however, runs counter to such expectations insofar as it explicitly (and comically) violates the boundaries of Eddie and Martin's relationship. Instead of the expected face-to-face encounter, the two men meet as Martin crashes through the door and stands over Eddie, ready to slug him. That they carry on a conversation for several lines with Eddie lying on the floor underscores the structured nature of their relationship even as it undermines it.

Yet, of all the activities involving Eddie and Martin, the frame built around the activity of INFORMING is most important, not only in establishing coherence in the interactions of Eddie and Martin, but also in establishing the overall coherence of the play. Informing can be defined as imparting knowledge of a fact or circumstance and can be seen in Eddie's imparting certain facts about his relationship with May to Martin. In the following frame, represented by Example 4, Eddie and Martin (with the Old Man as a non-participant observer) provide information to each other but also inform the reader about Eddie and May's relationship. As the frame begins, Eddie pours Martin a drink, and they begin to talk about May:

Example 4: INFORMING

Martin:	What exactly's the matter with her anyway?	1
Eddie:	She's in a state a' shock. (*The Old Man chuckles to himself. Drinks.*)	
Martin:	Shock? How come?	
Eddie:	Well, we haven't seen each other in a long time. I mean--me and her, we go back quite a ways, see. High School.	
Martin:	Oh. I didn't know that.	
Eddie:	Yeah. Lotta' miles.	10
Martin:	And you're not really cousins?	
Eddie:	No. Not really. No.	
Martin:	You're--her husband?	
Eddie:	No. She's my sister. (*he and The Old Man look at each other, then he turns back to Martin*) (*Pause. Eddie and The Old Man drink.*)	
Martin:	Your sister?	
Eddie:	Yeah.	

Martin: Oh. So--you knew each other even before high school then, huh? 20
Eddie: No, see, I never even knew I had a sister until it was too late.
Martin: How do you mean?
Eddie: Well, by the time I found out we'd already--you know--fooled around. (*The Old Man shakes his head, drinks. Long pause. Martin just stares at Eddie.*)
Eddie: (*grins*) Whatsa' matter, Martin?
Martin: You fooled around? 30
Eddie: Yeah.
Martin: Well-um--that's illegal, isn't it?
Eddie: I suppose so.
The Old Man: (to Eddie) Who is this guy?
Martin: I mean--is that true? She's really your sister?
Eddie: Half. Only half. 37

(Shepard, 1984, pp. 47-48)

In this example, the topic of the frame, **the relationship between Eddie and May**, is established not through the repetition of key words, but through a series of questions in which Martin seeks to confirm the truth of what he has heard. Martin's "checking up" on the information is apparent in line 13 ("You're--her husband?"); in line 18 ("Your sister?"); in lines 20-21 ("Oh--so you knew each other even before high school then, huh?"); in line 30 ("You fooled around?"); and in lines 35-36 ("I mean--is that true? She's really your sister?").

This series of questions asked by Martin serves two functions. First, because he gets answers, his questions provide continuity between utterances. Second, by violating the boundaries or expectations of his and Eddie's relationship, the questions underscore its structured nature. The questions are rather personal, suggesting an interest not entirely proper between antagonists. For example, Martin's response to Eddie's utterance that he and May "go back quite a ways, see..." (ll. 7-8) is "Oh. I didn't know that" (l. 9), an utterance which could indicate a distanced reserve neither friendly nor unfriendly. But his subsequent questions, "And you're not really cousins?" (l. 11), "You're--her husband?" (l. 13), "Your sister?" (l. 18), "Oh. So--you knew each other even before high school then, huh?" (ll. 20-21), "You fooled around?" (l. 30), "I mean--is that true? She's really your sister?" (ll. 35-36), belie a growing interest in the events as Eddie tells them, which seems to

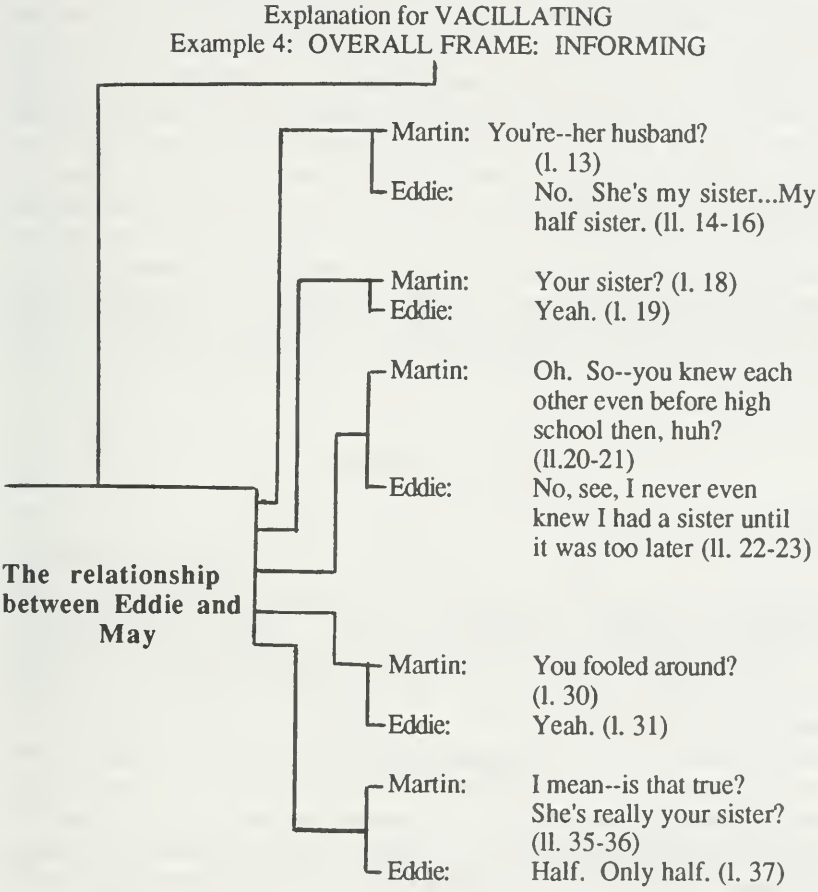
override antagonism.

But Eddie himself has offered revelations of a personal nature in a kidding, humorous way and so he, too, has violated the boundaries or expectations of an antagonistic relationship. For example, Eddie's utterances--that he and May have between them a "Lotta' miles" (l. 10); that before he found out that May was his sister they had "already--you know--fooled around" (ll. 25-26); his question, "Whatsa' matter, Martin?" (l. 29), delivered as he "grins"; his off-hand reply of "I suppose so" (l. 33) to Martin's naive question, "Well--um--that's illegal, isn't it?" (l. 32)--seem to indicate an ease and familiarity not wholly expected between antagonists

By revealing unexpected familiarity, friendliness, ease, humor, and personal interest, Eddie's and Martin's utterances thus violate yet at the same time underscore the structured nature of their relationship. The pattern formed by the conversational interaction in Example 4 may be represented by Figure 4, an INFORMING frame which reveals a different pattern from those seen in Examples 1-3. The explanation for this difference is that the frame represented by Example 4 has, within the play itself, a function different from those of the frames and subframes represented by Examples 1-3. The earlier examples established patterns of attraction-rejection or approach-avoidance which are characteristic of two characters continually vacillating about whether they want to stay together or part, or whether they want to fight or make love. The function of the frames and subframes in Examples 1-3 was to render the characters in action. The function of the frame represented by Example 4, however, is to provide information. In literary terms such a frame would be called "expository." Since its function is to provide information, the frame takes shape as a series of questions and answers. Questions and answers are not the only way to provide information, but since they are appropriate between speakers in a structured relationship, they provide a convenient frame for Martin and Eddie.

Within this overall frame of INFORMING, the utterances of Eddie and Martin are paired. As can be seen in Figure 4, every question elicits an immediate answer. Yet all these questions and answers are related to the larger topic of the frame, **the relationship between Eddie and May**. While the frame takes its name from its characteristic activity, INFORMING, it in part also explains the reason for Eddie and May's constant VACILLATING.

Figure 4



Indeed, by revealing for the first time the incestuous nature of the relationship between Eddie and May, this INFORMING frame gives the first indication of why Eddie and May, so drawn to each other, might be reluctant to stay together. The pattern of attraction-rejection or approach-avoidance which characterized the earlier utterances and activities of Eddie and May can now be seen in a larger context, partially explaining the ambiguous, vacillating nature of their relationship. From this point of view, one can understand how this frame--INFORMING--fits into the overall frame of VACILLATING. Functioning as an explanation of why Eddie and May vacillate, it sheds light on the earlier frames and

subframes represented in Examples 1-3.

By way of summary, the analysis of Examples 1-4, which focused on multi-speaker frames in Shepard's *Fool for Love*, has shown that patterns formed by the speakers' utterances in both structured and unstructured relationships reveal that seemingly discontinuous utterances really form continuous wholes which can be classified as frames or subframes, in accordance with Linde's model of discontinuity as continuity. Moreover, these frames or subframes, which take their names from the characteristic activity of the speakers, themselves form patterns mirroring and repeating the patterns formed by individual utterances within the frames. Finally, the analysis has posited that subframes and frames are essentially the same kind of wholes, consisting of conversational interaction which differs only in degree but not in kind.

CONCLUSION

One of the main goals of this study was to determine whether continuity within a speech exchange or between speech exchanges ensured coherence within a frame, and whether continuity between frames ensured overall text coherence. It was shown that coherence in speech exchanges, as they occur in Sam Shepard's *Fool for Love,* does not depend on the continuity of utterances but rather on the arrangement of utterances; it was shown that coherence may result when even discontinuous utterances are organized into a pattern which the reader can perceive as a unified whole. On a larger scale, it was argued that discontinuous frames could be arranged into a pattern which could be perceived as coherent by a reader; it was also argued that overall text coherence depends not upon continuity between frames but rather on the arrangement of discontinuous or continuous frames into a coherent whole.

The approach adopted in this study was felt to be necessary because it deals with issues usually ignored in more traditional types of literary criticism, which often overlooks the sociological aspects of a text by limiting the study of unity and coherence in language to an analysis of unifying themes or images. The present study differs since it attempts to show how speakers' utterances are governed and shaped by their relationships and the activities in which they are engaged. This study can also be seen to contribute to text analysis

because it attempts to establish that overall coherence (of a text) can be established if the text is broken up into the largest, most clearly defined units of discourse as possible. Coherence, then, even in a fictional play with apparent discontinuities, can, in light of Linde's theory, be established by relating the language used by speakers to the pragmatic circumstances of their lives.

NOTES

[1] Lundquist (1985), for instance, seeks to establish coherence by closely examining semantic roles within a sentence, in terms of *agent*, *time*, and *location*. While such an approach focusing on subsentential elements may be sufficient to establish "connexity" within a sentence, the drawback is that a holistic view of the text is ignored. Giora (1985) proposes a model of coherence based on linear cohesion. She argues that coherence between sentences depends on "discourse Topics" (DTs). She does not, however, specify what exactly constitutes or determines a DT. This same criticism can be applied to Tannen (1984) as well who defines coherence as the "underlying organizing structure making the words and sentences into a unified discourse" (p. xiv) but does not specify how one organizes words and sentences to form a "unified discourse." Linde's definition (1987), in contrast, is more explicit and comprehensive.

[2] In this and all other passages quoted for analysis, topics will be identified by **boldface type**, stage directions will be indicated by *italics*, and frames and subframes will be identified by CAPITAL LETTERS. Stage directions not crucial to the analysis are omitted and indicated by [. . .].

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SPECIAL FEATURE ROUNDTABLE

Language Education, Language Acquisition: Working Perspectives of Four Applied Linguists

INTRODUCTION

Language education and language acquisition have been among the core areas of applied linguistics in the brief history of our field. In this Special Feature, coordinated by David Leech, four applied linguistics practitioners who have participated in the community of UCLA's Department of TESL & Applied Linguistics were invited to share their perspectives. Three of the four contributors, John Povey, Brian Lynch, and John Schumann, are presently faculty members in the department. The fourth, Leo van Lier, of the Monterey Institute for International Studies, recently visited UCLA as a guest speaker in the TESL & Applied Linguistics Graduate Students' Spring 1991 Speaker Series.

Each writer contributes an in-depth personal perspective on his particular work, discussing its relationship to applied linguistics and to contributing areas of inquiry. Van Lier, Povey, and Lynch have chosen to express their thoughts in essay form, while Schumann preferred to respond to David Leech's questions in an interview format.

The first three contributions are from applied linguists in language education. Leo van Lier offers provocative insights into what an active applied linguistics might be and into what sort of relationship would result for theory, research, and practice. John Povey reviews the status of language education within applied linguistics, especially the recent re-emergence of literature as a culturally rich vehicle for English language teaching in a culturally diverse world. Brian Lynch argues that his "context-adaptive model of program evaluation" has much to offer not only to educational contexts in the widest sense, but also to improved measurement of language abilities. The interview with John Schumann follows these essays.

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Doing Applied Linguistics: Towards a Theory of Practice

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A central task for the applied linguist is to articulate a principled stance in relation to the three terms *theory*, *research*, and *practice*. A prominent--if not dominant--view of this relationship is that research is primarily related to theory (whether in a *theory-first* or in a *research-first* sense) rather than to practice. To illustrate this view of research in our field, let me quote the opening lines of a paper by Kevin Gregg (1989):

> The ultimate goal of second language acquisition research is the development of a theory of second language acquisition. I think there is fairly widespread agreement that no such theory exists; beyond that rather minimal point, the consensus starts to dissolve. (p. 15)

This quotation squarely places research in the service of theory and furthermore (tacitly) assumes that there can surely be no disagreement on this point. But do we all agree with this? I, for one, am inclined to disagree. I think that research which addresses practical concerns is at least as valuable as theory-oriented research and, indeed, that practice-oriented or practice-driven research in general tends to be of more enduring theoretical benefit than research which is divorced from practice.[1] Such research is also more likely to be funded and to be appreciated by the public. The perspective of Gregg's statement would lead us in other fields, perhaps, to statements such as "The ultimate goal of AIDS research is the development of a theory of AIDS," rather than the understanding of the disease and its prevention.

Moreover, Gregg's paper appears in a series entitled "Applied Linguistics," published by Cambridge University Press. The professed aim of this series is to publish work which succeeds in "relating research and practice" (Series Preface, p. viii). Is the "second language acquisition research" (SLA) mentioned by Gregg something different from applied linguistics (AL)? Are SLA researchers perhaps those who look towards theory, while AL researchers those who look towards practice? Is that why some researchers prefer the SLA label to the AL label? I would be loath (or reckless) to speculate on these matters, so I will quote Newmeyer & Weinberger (1988), who call second language learning (SLL) an "immature discipline." Among the reasons they give for this temporary (one hopes) imperfection are the "ties with pedagogy" which have not yet been "completely severed" (pp. 34-45). In other words, the less SLA (or SLL) gets involved with pedagogy, the closer it gets to "maturity." This I find curious indeed. It is as if a medical researcher were to say that we can only achieve a mature theory of digestion if we ignore all reference to diet, chewing, and exercise. Further, giving advice to people about how to avoid

stomach ulcers or developing useful drugs would then be immature acts of the researcher.[2]

I want to make it clear that I accept the validity of theory-oriented, practice-eschewing types of research such as appears to be advocated by Gregg, Newmeyer, Weinberger, and many others who prefer to leave the qualifier *applied* out of their particular titular compound. Certainly, there is no reason why a researcher should immediately have to prove the practical applicability of every piece of research s/he does. However, it troubles me when researchers claim, tacitly if not overtly, some sort of exclusivity or primacy for their own brand of research and theory-making. On the one hand, a deliberate dissociation of SLA/SLL from pedagogy appears somewhat quixotic given that the words *learning* and *acquisition* appear in these researchers' own labels. On the other hand, such separation would make the theorist unpractical and the practitioner atheoretical, or at best turn the teacher into a passive (perhaps awestruck?) recipient of research and theoretical findings. I suggest that a dislocation of either type would signal severe immaturity rather than the converse.

I have so far questioned two assumptions: (a) that research should have theory-construction as its ultimate or exclusive goal and (b) that theory and research should be kept separate from pedagogical practice. To complete my activist's agenda, I must now add a third questionable assumption. This is the assumption, stated forcefully on at least two occasions by Jarvis (1981, 1991), that research and teaching are two entirely distinct activities which cannot be combined (except in collaborative research in which teacher and researcher join forces, each contributing his or her own expertise). Jarvis (1991) argues that, whereas research is designed "to solve a problem--to come to understand," the purpose of a teacher's research, or action research, is "to solve a problem--to make something work" (p. 302).

Like all scientific activity, action research involves problem solving,[3] but it is much more than that: it includes systematic cycles of planning, acting, observing, reflecting, and documentation (Lewin, 1946; Nixon, 1981; Carr & Kemmis, 1986). If it is well done, and successful, it leads to a better understanding of a particular aspect of reality, in our case an aspect of teaching and learning. In such cases it is good educational research. Contrary to Jarvis's claim that research should be left to professionally trained researchers, there is evidence that teachers can be researchers, that they can do useful research in cooperation with other teachers, with or without assistance from academically trained researchers, and that such research is a legitimate and beneficial activity for teachers (see a recent issue of *Educational Leadership* on the theme of "reflective teaching" (The Reflective Educator, 1991). In actual fact, teachers can be (and are being) taught how to do various kinds of research in in-service workshops and postgraduate degree programs (Nunan, 1990).

The teacher who is excluded from research except in the role of collaborator, as Jarvis suggests, is a *restricted professional*, whereas the reflective teacher or teacher-researcher is an *extended* and *autonomous professional* (Stenhouse, 1975). According to Stenhouse, the extended professional has "a capacity for autonomous professional self-development through systematic self-

study, through the study of the work of other teachers and through the testing of ideas by classroom research procedures" (1975, p. 144). The extended professional, being autonomous, will engage in research when s/he sees fit to do so, without necessarily waiting for academe's approval or permission. And when theorists and researchers prefer to distance themselves from practical involvement in pedagogical affairs, teachers have no choice but to do their own research in order to investigate their own practice (or praxis, to use the Aristotelian term). My advice to teachers therefore is to grow some theory of their own, to take research initiatives, and to seek expertise when and where appropriate.

An activist applied linguistics aims to establish the following points:

a) Research can be practice-based (practice-driven and/or practice-oriented). Such research reduces the gap between theory and practice, without watering down theory or encumbering practice.
b) Practice-based research is theoretically interesting (i.e., valuable) at least to the same degree that theory-based research is practically interesting, and at times perhaps more so.
c) It is possible, desirable, and even necessary for the teaching profession to establish its own theory of practice.
d) It is feasible and necessary for autonomous teachers to be researchers of their own reality.

In some recent work (e.g., van Lier, 1991), I have illustrated a type of activist applied linguistics which can best be called *educational linguistics*.[4] While teaching a regular semester-long ESL class, I conducted research on my own teaching (action research). I had several purposes in mind, some more explicitly articulated than others. As it happened, things turned out rather differently than expected, but this is not uncommon in any kind of research. Some of the goals and procedures of this project, stated as succinctly as possible, were:

a) Try to see how an explicit focus on form/language (or consciousness-raising) can be incorporated in a communicative approach. I tried a number of different tasks, traditional and innovative, to see how language awareness might be brought about or harnessed in the service of language learning.
b) Establish an authentic data-base for making graduate linguistics courses more in tune with the reality of language use in classrooms. To this end I recorded all my ESL lessons and planned to transcribe excerpts for immediate use in the graduate classes I was simultaneously teaching.
c) Find out if and how action research really works by doing it myself. I kept a diary, invited others to observe my lessons, transcribed all lessons (with the help of Eve Connell and Sheila Williams, then graduate students), and tried to monitor as closely as possible what happened.

d) Establish the relevance of as many theoretical issues as possible, from the perspective of a language teacher. That is, standing in the classroom, I asked myself what I could honestly say was important for my work, my professional self-improvement, and my understanding of my students. This question led me to investigate educational issues which I might otherwise have continued to neglect or be ignorant of, yet which I now regard as crucial.

Practice-based research is open-ended and ongoing: one cannot expect closure similar to carefully planned and circumscribed experimental projects. However, while it may not fit the preferred formats of many theorists, there is no doubt that it has powerful theoretical potential as well as immediate practical value. Furthermore, it is gaining increasing respectability and prominence in the philosophy of science and the social sciences, and the linguistic and SLA research community will inevitably have to come to terms with it.

Applied Linguistics and the Place of Literature in Language Teaching

John Povey, *UCLA*

When we became a department it seemed no one much liked our double name--"Department of TESL & Applied Linguistics"--but it was indicative that no one could suggest any more specific appellation. So it is with the field. What is applied, to what, and why?

Applied linguistics assumes that linguistics itself (housed elsewhere) pursues 'pure' studies. After that the pragmatists borrow and employ the more useful bits. Such a system can be seen as analogous to basic research and manufacturing. For the economic model, made metaphor above, there remains a third stage, consumerism, which is realistically the sole purpose of the process. TESL presumably becomes that academic also-ran serving utilitarian performance in the classroom. The sequence has a sweet logic, but within academe, it proves to offer a less calculated interaction. Between research and function, gaps seem to widen rather than narrow, compounded by a common scholarly attitude that research is the hard work and the foot soldiers can carry the burden into the classrooms. I think there is presently a tension between scholars and teachers. That may not matter at the elevated intellectual level but is damnable at the second language chalk-face. "They cry out and are not fed," as Milton put it in condemning earlier scholars. Sometimes this is for the best. Some of the more absurd hypotheses about language teaching have been mercifully restricted by the surly conservatism of long-experienced teachers to the great benefit of their students, but such exceptions do not indicate that researchers should retire from the field and abdicate from the honorable and

essential duty to guide and sustain those doing daily battle with intransigent circumstances.

Applied linguistics implicitly and increasingly borrows from other fields: mathematics, psychology, sociology, even biology, and 'applies' their discoveries to a different intellectual and educational situation. One always senses the danger. These offer a broader legitimacy in their own right, but the content becomes its own justification and the major reason for its pursuit. In the context of scholarly commitment, does our second title 'applied linguistics' lead toward our first title of TESL?--only marginally and distantly. One does not wish to return to the old days of basic teacher training; the how-to-hold-the-chalk and never-turn-your-back-on-the-class type of instruction. Even those of us most dedicated to education, after giving a passionate lecture on principles, have winced at that attacking, unanswerable question, "Yes, that's all very interesting but what do I do on Monday?" I am not sure that in any immediate way an 'applied linguist' can offer useful answers to such pleas, and there lies the problem. Our aims are long term. Needs are more immediate. We can only point out the potential effectiveness of our statistical proofs. It may be that there is an intermediate stage, that of formal teacher-training programs, through which research needs to be filtered down. Yet I think at a more fundamental level we may be forgetting purpose and substituting the more pleasurable experiences of, as Ratty (from *The Wind in the Willows*) remarked, "messing about in boats," or at least with our computers, rather than thinking of those huge, overfilled classes in the Los Angeles school system.

I remember a plenary speech by the late and lamented Peter Strevens. He took the acronym "TESOL" as his text but insisted that our concerns were partial. He reprimanded us that we fussed about 'teaching' provoked by a lot of 'SOLs ' who besiege us. But what, he so eloquently and rhetorically asked about the E for English? With that inquiry he beautifully articulated my own concerns, and his anxiety would be equally justified if we argue that the principles of applied linguistics can be spread more widely to serve Russian or Chinese languages, say. The same addiction to theory and indifference to the living language would most likely apply.

There are two ways of answering Strevens. Firstly the simple dismissal. Linguistics, applied or otherwise, is too concerned with vital micro-fundamentals to consider whether the data with which it works has a living tradition admired by centuries of creativity. One imagines that bacteriologists peer through their microscopes without considering the glorious active beast from which their slide samples are drawn. Secondly and more generously, one might agree and ask for an emphasis on language as opposed to linguistics as central to the reception by those 'SOLs.' A different perspective to the emphasis on 'application.'

This issue is particularly significant when one considers English. Years of British international education, anticipating an admiration of Jane Austen as evidence of linguistic success, did require the pendulum to be pushed back. But there is the old proverb which relates the danger of "throwing the baby out with the bath water." As English becomes increasingly a global

language, what can best serve its expansion and sustenance? We can define what is needed: reading and writing skills and attendant comprehension. Interestingly enough this suggests that the secondary abilities may in many cases prove more useful, in the business sense, than speech competences. Applied linguistic research has focused upon the primary skills substantially because it is only at the most fundamental levels, when variables can be controlled into relative simplicity, that specific research can be activated. Language acquisition research can teach us something, but nothing that explains the miracle of how the ill-educated Shakespeare learned his ability to offer a phrase such as "the multitudinous seas incarnadine turn." Where did he 'acquire' that skill?

I am not pretending that the old boredom of 'lit. crit.' can solve ESL problems. I do believe that literature must play a part in redirecting priorities within the service of ESL teaching and that its incorporation into programs, at both the training and teaching levels, can be invaluable. Before I am knocked down with gales of incredulous laughter let me argue for its virtues and point to its future. I used to be alone in this fanciful belief, but there are changes in the air. The TESOL Newsletter has recently offered several articles hinting that classroom stories are useful. Recent ESL publishers' catalogs are sneaking in reading materials that look suspiciously like literature. Surely the most exciting breakthrough, though not specifically for ESL students, is the California state-wide decision to create a 'literature-centered' English language curriculum at several grade levels in the schools.

What this policy recognizes is that literature provides evidence of language used at its most expressive level. Literature is the conduit of all national thought and ideals--one does not have to be exceptionally Whorfian to recognize that phenomenon. Literature is interesting. That is not a word that can often be applied to language classes. Almost without exception, and unlike the average American high school graduate, those nonnative speakers know, respect, and love literature, even hunger for it. Stories are critical in all societies. They have been told around campfires for a thousand years to teach and entertain. Stories are everywhere listened to by rapt audiences. When, in a ESL class, did one last get a rapt audience? Perhaps only when reading a story. Literature provides thoughts about the human experience. It demands reaction. It stimulates that most precious of all teacher classroom hopes--responsiveness--which has never arisen from the conversation-stopping command: 'Let's have a discussion.' Of course, I am following, and recommending, my own path. I know it is only one direction amongst many.

If I had to summarize, I would argue that applied linguistics is at present not sufficiently 'applied' in the sense of having immediate, obvious and advantageous 'application.' In pursuing the topics that derive from its field of scholarship, the difference between linguistics and applied linguistics is not so exceptionally different. In the great context of university scholarship, my complaint may be unjustified, unfair, and irrelevant. All scholarship can defend its own ultimate utility as service to mankind, if not to the common man. I am no more immune than others to the temptations of trumpet-blowing about one's enthusiasms. There is always the hope that in research, as in taxation or

development aid, success at the upper levels must inevitably 'trickle down' to the disadvantaged below. However, the result has rarely been proven in any field. I believe that without a very determined and activist intervention, this may not be so with 'applied linguistics.'

The Role of Program Evaluation in Applied Linguistics Research

Brian K. Lynch, *UCLA*

Applied linguistics research, as I see it, is concerned with the application of knowledge and methods of inquiry from a variety of disciplines to the range of issues concerning the development and use of language (cf. Jacobs, 1990, p.156). This is, admittedly, a very broad definition. It does, however, establish the direction of application--from disciplines such as linguistics, sociology, and cognitive science to language-related concerns, rather than from linguistics to other disciplines. It also does not limit the application of knowledge and methods to traditional language concerns, but opens it up to the emerging social and political aspects of language learning and use.

From this perspective, program evaluation can play an essential role in the development of applied linguistics as a field of research. I agree with Cumming (1987) who distinguished second language program evaluation from other applied linguistic research because of its special ability to "document actual interrelationships between program policy, rationale, instructional procedures, learning processes and outcomes, curricular content, and a specific social milieu" (p. 697). In order to provide myself and others with a systematic and principled way of approaching the work of program evaluation within the context of applied linguistics, I have formulated a context-adaptive model (Lynch, 1990). This was not intended as a model in the traditional, positivist sense of the term. I did not attempt a rigid formulation of a theory to be tested for validity using experimental research design and appropriate statistical techniques. Rather, as its name suggests, it is meant to be a flexible, adaptable heuristic, a starting point for inquiry into language programs, that will constantly reshape and redefine itself, depending upon the context of the program and the evaluation. It also provides a framework for discussing the role of program evaluation in applied linguistics research.

The first steps of the context-adaptive model focus on the issues of audience and goals. Because the audience of a program evaluation often lies outside academic disciplines, the evaluator as researcher is forced to consider the issue of what counts as evidence from different perspectives. The funding agency may expect numbers as proof of program success. The community being served by the program may expect a clear description of how the program accomplishes what it does. Evaluators will have their own requirements for what counts as

evidence. This aspect of program evaluation forces a consideration of different types of knowledge and knowledge validation.

It is because of the need to deal with the question of what counts as evidence that the literature on program evaluation has addressed with regularity the issue of research paradigm. Within the education and psychology literatures this has become known as the "qualitative-quantitative debate." Unfortunately, this terminology can tend to obscure the issue. While the qualitative and quantitative paradigms are associated with certain types of data and methods (i.e., qualitative and quantitative), the real issues are ontological and epistemological: what can we know, and how do we know what we know? The quantitative paradigm stems from positivism, which takes an objectivist perspective to this question: reality is seen as independent of the mind, an external objective entity waiting to be discovered through the use of rigorously controlled experimental design and appropriate statistical procedures. The qualitative paradigm is associated with phenomenology and interpretivism, which take a relativist perspective: reality is mind-dependent and behavior is socially constructed, with no externally existing foundation against which to measure or validate our knowledge claims. Pennycook (1989, 1990) has applied knowledge from a variety of disciplines and subdisciplines (e.g., critical linguistics, critical pedagogy, and postmodern philosophy, anthropology, and sociology) to argue cogently for a critical applied linguistics that acknowledges the historical, social, and political bases for our research. Essentially, he has made the connection between the quantitative-qualitative debate and the emergence of postmodernist thought as a challenge to traditional approaches to inquiry.

In this sense, program evaluation can lead to a clarification of the epistemological basis for applied linguistic research; it can and should, I believe, play the role of keeping us honest in our inquiry. Even if the quantitative-qualitative debate is no longer productive as some have suggested (Reichardt & Cook, 1979; Howe, 1988)--that is, that there is no need to choose between research paradigms--or if the postmodernist critique of academic inquiry (e.g., Pennycook, 1990) remains unconvincing, the consideration of the issues involved have led to a recognition by some applied linguists of the need to be open to "different ways of arriving at understanding" (van Lier, 1988, p.12) in applied linguistic research.

Another step in the context-adaptive model, the context inventory, leads to an examination of the social and political climate surrounding the program being evaluated. This step involves a consideration not only of the perspectives of the program designers, implementers, and students, but also of the larger issues concerning the social and political basis and motivation for language learning and teaching. It is there that issues such as cultural and linguistic pluralism versus access to a language as a means of socioeconomic advancement arise (Gaies, 1987), as does the relationship between technology and language in preserving the status quo of dependency on the technology of certain nations (Judd, 1984). In order to document these types of issues most thoroughly, program evaluation must apply knowledge and methods from other disciplines, thereby enriching applied linguistics research.

Another important dimension assessed by the context-adaptive model is reliable and valid measurement. Most program evaluations attempt some measure of program effect, or success, using language tests of one sort or another. This has led to a consideration of the difference between norm-referenced (NR) measurement and criterion-referenced (CR) measurement. NR tests, designed to compare or rank students, are generally used for proficiency and placement purposes. CR tests measure students' performance with respect to a specific set of criteria and are generally used for achievement and diagnostic purposes. (For a more detailed discussion of the differences between NR and CR tests, see Hudson & Lynch, 1984; Brown, 1989.) Several evaluations have called for more and better CR tests in assessing program success (Whitley, 1987; Lynch, 1988; Polio, 1988). Such tests are deemed to be "program fair" (Beretta, 1986) in that they are more sensitive to the specific curricular objectives of the individual programs than are NR tests. Thus, program evaluation can lead to the application of knowledge and techniques from education and psychology for the improved measurement of particular language abilities in particular program contexts.

The final steps of the context-adaptive model, dealing with the design of a data collection system and the analysis of evaluation data, also lead to the application of methods, both quantitative and qualitative, from different disciplines. In particular, this multiple methods approach can be seen when data are collected and analyzed to investigate the match between the instructional objectives and the classroom processes in a language program. In order to effectively assess this match, program evaluation must pursue ethnographic accounts of language classrooms and introspective/retrospective investigation of individual learning processes and their interaction with language instruction. It must also pursue the measurement of student achievement of the program's instructional objectives. To the degree these objectives are operationalizations derived from language learning theory, the multiple methods approach encourages the development of better quantitative measures that can also be used in more traditional, experimental research designed to validate that theory. An adequate approach to such validation, as Bachman (1990, and personal communication) has argued, would require the development of CR tests of language ability. Ultimately, the most convincing validation of theory will combine these efforts to qualitatively describe the variables involved in classroom language learning and to quantitatively analyze those variables. Program evaluation provides a practical base (language programs) and a motivation (the need for evaluation) for this type of multidisciplinary inquiry in applied linguistics.

A Journey Through Language Acquisition

An Interview with John Schumann, *UCLA*

John Schumann presents his view of applied linguistics by guiding us through his own evolution as an applied linguist, a journey which has brought him from his continuing interest in language acquisition to the insights of neuroscience and cognitive science.

IAL: What most interests you in applied linguistics and how has that influenced your development as an applied linguist?

JS: I consider language acquisition and use to be the central concerns of applied linguistics. To that central concern we apply insights and knowledge from various other fields. Those fields include psychology, sociology, linguistics, neuroscience, artificial intelligence, anthropology, and to some extent philosophy. So I really see language acquisition and use as being at the core, and the "applied" in applied linguistics means applying these various areas to our studies of language acquisition and use.

In my own work, I've been mainly concerned with language acquisition, less so with language use. It began with a concern about failure or at least lack of total success in second language acquisition. That was something that interested me; I was a language major in college, and I observed variable success among fellow students. Then I went into the Peace Corps and was in Iran for several years. And there I observed some people doing better than others and was curious as to why. In graduate school, I began examining the social psychology of second language acquisition, particularly the work of Gardner and associates, Spolsky, and others on attitude and motivation.

Later, looking at the notion of social distance, I examined the work on ethnic relations and various aspects of social relations between groups and applied this to the study of second language acquisition. I was also interested in the work of Alexander Guiora on the notion of ego permeability or empathy. I read a good deal of psychoanalytic literature, and I began to think about it in relation to second language acquisition. I also looked at the anthropological literature, particularly work done by such researchers as Larsen and Smalley, two anthropological linguists on phenomena such as language shock and culture shock. I spent a lot of time studying a branch of linguistics--pidgin and creole studies--to try to describe the language of people whose linguistic forms had fossilized at a very early stage of development.

More recently I have been trying to incorporate a cognitive component into this pidginization/acculturation model by studying models from the fields of cognitive psychology, artificial intelligence, and cognitive science, to try to see how those various models could account for the pidginization one finds in early second language acquisition and in certain fossilized learners. I have also started studying neurobiology. My hypothesis was that if there was some sort of

social-psychological force that promotes or inhibits second language learning, it must have a neural substrate. So I was curious as to what could be going on in the brain that would cause people to acculturate better and perhaps learn better, or not acculturate well or not learn well. That led me to studies of the limbic system, and particularly of the amygdala (which seems to be that part of the brain that assesses stimuli for their motivational relevance and emotional significance). I thought that learners, whether in a target-language context or in classrooms, constantly scan the environment to assess both motivational relevance and emotional significance of incoming stimuli. These appraisals would lead to emotions; and if those emotions are more generally positive than negative, it is likely to result in attention to the stimuli. In addition, the amygdala appears to play a role in memory, and thus it seems plausible that if the amygdala evaluates stimuli positively, it will signal various parts of the brain to prepare the cortex to receive information contained in the stimulus.

This has led me to look at the neuropsychology and cognitive psychology of memory. So memory is something which I will be paying more attention to. From my perspective, memory is the heart of the cognition involved in learning. And the neural mechanisms that make memory possible, which include affective mechanisms such as the amygdala, make memory and affect link up very closely.

IAL: Given the research stage that you have reached, what relationship does it have to your original research question? How much does the stage you have progressed to match it, and how much does it go beyond it?

JS: In terms of my own intellectual progression, one could argue that there has been no progression whatsoever. The interest fossilized, and there has been no movement at all. What has happened is that I developed an interest in variable success in second language learning: why some people do it well and quickly, why some people do it slowly and accomplish very little, or sometimes nothing at all. That interest of mine has not changed one bit. It has been the core of my work. First I looked at some social psychology, then clinical psychology, pidgin and creole linguistics, neurobiology, the neuropsychology of memory, and now I am extending it to the psychology of stimulus appraisal and neurochemistry.

Looking at my work, one might say, "Gee, Schumann just jumps from one thing to the next. One time he's talking about pidgins, then he's talking about clinical psychology, now he's talking about the brain. The guy is clearly a Gemini and he's intellectually out of control." But I would argue that this is not the case; the central concern has not changed one whit. I just explore it from different perspectives.

IAL: Would you say you are now working in areas that happen to be generally "hot" or "in" right now for applied linguistics? Does it match what is going on in applied linguistics generally, if one can say that?

JS: I honestly do not see a major trend for the understanding of neuroanatomy and neurophysiology in applied linguistics right now. But, I think it would be worth having such a trend because ultimately it is the brain in interaction with other brains that leads to the acquisition and use of language. We can examine interaction, we can study input, we can analyze output as much as we want, but ultimately it is the black box that does the acquisition and use. And the box isn't even that black anymore. In the last ten years there has been enormous progress in neuroscience, and I think we can begin now to study the brain and speculate how it might be controlling the exact questions I'm interested in--the success versus lack of success in second language learning. For example, there was a recent article in *The New York Times* about a neuropeptide called oxytocin that seems to be operable in affiliative behavior. Acculturation has a lot to do with affiliative behavior, i.e., how one regards the target language group, and there may be some role for oxytocin in that.

I'm also interested in the neurochemicals that are involved in the brain's reward system, because they appear to be operable when people are exposed to stimuli they positively value. They may set off attention mechanisms which may ultimately allow the input to become intake. All these raise possibilities for aspects of the neurosubstrate that may be involved in the process of becoming bilingual.

I think there are a number of interesting ideas about brain function that could at the very least give us new metaphors for the way we think about the problems we have in second language acquisition--for all of the problems are intractable; nobody has solved anything yet. What we need are as many new conceptualizations as possible.

IAL: There is a field of inquiry which is perennially at issue: Chomskyan linguistics and other formal schools which study languages as logical rational systems. How do you see their work fitting into your own view of applied linguistics?

JS: When I say applied linguistics is something concerned with language acquisition and use, that includes both first and second languages. I think the Chomskyan perspective is a good one if one accepts the notion that there is a poverty of stimulus--and I think the jury is still out on that. I think some people accept that axiomatically, they're convinced by the logical arguments for it, but others aren't convinced. Still it's perfectly all right to ask what language would look like from the perspective of competence divorced from performance, from the perspective of a module independent of other modules, and from the assumption of impoverished input. Whether the generative approach has made progress or not is another question. We have certainly learned a lot about language from it, but whether we have learned about the language faculty is another question.

There is a related issue: second language acquisition researchers are always concerned that the field doesn't have a theory, and whenever someone proposes a theory, someone says it doesn't account for this and it doesn't account

for that--it's not global enough. But then if we look at what I think many would concede is a theory in linguistics, it's certainly not global.

IAL: So its value to you is how much linguistics can tell you about what's going on in the brain?

JS: You mean Universal Grammar? Yes, that's its goal, isn't it? It doesn't have to be psychologically real, but if there are some commonalities among natural languages, and we can define the constraints on natural language, then we have, in some indirect way at least, some knowledge about what the brain might need to be like in order to learn a language.

IAL: But do you see UG as nevertheless being useful as an adequate description of language X, do you see UG as having some applicability to some other area of applied linguistics, even if it can't inform us directly about cognition?

JS: Well it seems that it is not very informative for the kind of interlanguage analyses that we do. Rarely is anyone in generative linguistics doing anything on interlanguage, but interlanguage is performance, so you could argue that it isn't a concern of linguistics. To do interlanguage analysis you need to know about things like modality and ergativity and aspect--at this point, current generative theory doesn't seem to have much to say about those things.

IAL: Many in applied linguistics see formal or programmatic language teaching as an important if not primary concern. How do you see your own work in relation to that perspective? Is there a useful linkage between language education and other contributory areas, or do you have a different angle on this?

JS: Applied linguistics has developed out of a concern for how to teach languages, and I think that has been a terribly constraining concern. I don't say that it should abandon language teaching. But for applied linguistics to develop, I think language acquisition and language use should be more generally conceived. Language education would be just one aspect of applied linguistics.

IAL: One last question: Do you have any words of encouragement, or words of despair, about applied linguistics as a field?

JS: No words of despair, but I think we have to be sober about it. What we are constantly talking about at meetings and conferences is how we can influence linguistic theory. Basically it's begging linguists to pay attention to us. What can we say to linguists? I think the first time we have something important to say to linguists, within a year or so they'll hear it. If we really have something to say that's crucial to theory, it will get into the literature and they'll hear it. So I don't think we have to keep running after linguists to get them to come to our colloquia where they can listen to what we have to say in case we might say something worthwhile.

On the other hand, in applied linguistics, we'll know that we've accomplished something when we begin to influence another field or other fields. Right now we influence education: what's relevant in applied linguistics to language teaching gets to the language teaching field. But we've had no major influence beyond language education, and if we're to get a clear demonstration of our vitality it will be when we generate some insights that are useful to psychologists, sociologists, neuroscientists, artificial intelligence experts, and even linguists.

CONCLUSION

The views of our four contributors are obviously inspired by their individual areas of expertise within language education and language acquisition. Nevertheless, all four have articulated, in one way or another, the connections between these two core areas of applied linguistics. Moreover, they communicate in their own idioms not only that sound work in applied linguistics must in some fashion connect research and theory to experience and practice, but that language education and language acquisition must be open to influences beyond applied linguistics which can ultimately help these core areas influence other domains within our field and help applied linguistics contribute to other disciplines.

NOTES

[1] As Feyerabend (1987), the philosopher of science, has said: "The knowledge we need to understand and to advance the sciences does not come from theories, it comes from participation" (p. 284). The "theory of practice" (Bourdieu, 1990) I am advocating is designed to illuminate this participation.

[2] The tension between theory and practice has of course been with us for some time. For example, Lorenz (1971) long ago spoke not only of the two reasons for doing science--wanting to know and wanting to to help--but also of the potential conflict between them. Another interesting case is that of Carl Jung who, as Stern (1976) recounts, "gradually became distrustful of all psychological theorizing about therapy" and came to believe that "good therapy . . . has to be tailor-made" (p. 64). A theory of practice would hope to temper the abstractions and generalizations which characterize traditional theories and not lose sight of the unique and unexpected.

[3] Chomsky (1988) has made an interesting comment which is relevant to this issue. When he was asked what his method of investigation was, he replied:

> As for my own methods of investigation, I do not really have any. The only method of investigation is to look hard at a serious problem and try to get some ideas as to what might be the

> explanation for it, meanwhile keeping an open mind about all sorts of other possibilities. Well, that is not a method. It is just being reasonable, and so far as I know, that is the only way to deal with any problem, whether it is a problem in your work as a quantum physicist or whatever. (p. 190)

[4] I assume a research-methodological hierarchy roughly as follows: APPLIED LINGUISTICS > EDUCATIONAL LINGUISTICS > THEORY OF PRACTICE > CLASSROOM RESEARCH > ACTION RESEARCH (where ">" signifies "includes"). There is nothing fixed about this particular hierarchy. Rather, the different components should be seen as building blocks which can be assembled in different ways on different occasions, or as discourse worlds with multiple embedding options.

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REVIEWS

New Zealand Ways of Speaking English edited by Allan Bell and Janet Holmes. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters, 1990. 305 pp.

Reviewed by
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Coming to America has resulted in an interesting encounter with my linguistic identity, my New Zealand accent regularly provoking at least two distinct reactions: either "Please *say* something, I love the way you talk!" (which causes me some amusement but mainly disbelief), or "Your English is very good--what's your native language?" It is difficult to review a book like *New Zealand Ways of Speaking English* without relating such experiences, because as a nation New Zealanders at home and abroad have long suffered from a lurking sense of inferiority about the way they speak English, especially compared with those in the colonial "homeland," i.e., England. That dialectal differences create attitudes about what is better and worse is no news to scholars of language use, but this collection of studies on New Zealand English (NZE) not only reveals some interesting peculiarities of that particular dialect and its speakers from "down-under"; it also makes accessible the significant contributions of New Zealand linguists to broader theoretical concerns in sociolinguistics and applied linguistics. Bell and Holmes' recent collection includes studies on phonological aspects of linguistic variation and change, attitudes to NZE and other varieties of English, pragmatic issues (such as language, gender, and politeness), and, to add some definite New Zealand flavor, a study of how oral formulae are learned and used by race-callers (horse racing being one of New Zealand's national passions). As a first serious book of its kind, *New Zealand Ways of Speaking English* is impressive in meeting the editors' dual challenge of providing a

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platform for high quality local information as well as addressing a range of issues pertinent to colleagues internationally.

My introductory remarks about New Zealanders' self-deprecating view of their own speech are borne out by glancing at the provocative titles of studies in the first section of the book ("Attitudes to NZE"), e.g., "The Objectionable Colonial Dialect " and "God Help Us If We All Sound Like This." Studies on attitudes by Bayard, Gordon & Abell as well as Vaughan & Huygens reveal that despite New Zealanders' rugged independence in other aspects of national identity, they continue to regard British Received Pronunciation (R.P.) and North American accents as more prestigious and authoritative than New Zealand and Australian accents (which, according to this collection, they have some difficulty telling apart). However, when it comes to measures of solidarity, desirable social traits such as friendliness, a sense of humor, and sincerity are far more strongly associated by those surveyed with the New Zealand accent than with any other varieties of English.

Gordon & Abells' historical study of attitudes traces the roots of New Zealanders' "poor relation" view of their dialect back to a colonial relationship with mother England. The quotations they have collected over the years from letters to editors in the New Zealand press reveal popular condemnation of NZE in terms such as "degraded," "hideous," "corrupt," "lazy and slovenly," and "evil sounding." From the turn of the century, they report, teachers and parents have been publicly despairing that New Zealand children "murder" and "mangle" the English language, mainly in response to the distinctive closing diphthongs (as in /prajz/ for "praise", for example), centralized /i/ (as in /milk/ for "milk"), and a very closed /e/ (as in /yies/ for "yes") which, according to these New Zealand linguists, are the very features which distinguish the NZE dialect. Other studies in this book, however, do indicate that the historical grip of British attitudes and speech models has been weakening somewhat these days, as evidenced by the relatively high prestige ascribed to cultivated NZE by high school and university students. It may be that this shift towards a positive appreciation of NZE reflects changes in New Zealanders' perception of their cultural identity.

While the editors comment that the book's three studies of attitudes to speech varieties represent increasing methodological sophistication, they also note that to date much sociolinguistic research in New Zealand suffers from the shortcomings of early

Labovian methodology. Traces of this can be found in the book, such as in the Vaughan & Huygens study of sociolinguistic stereotyping in New Zealand, which employed a match-guise technique in which subjects rated and categorized recorded accent samples. This methodology might be criticized on the grounds that, in real life, responses to speakers and their accents take account of a complex set of contextual variables in the situation, as well as previous socializing experiences. Moreover, studies of this nature also raise the issue that research findings may be more than incidentally influenced by technological choices: it is interesting to note that none of the studies in this collection report the use of videotape as a medium for presenting or analyzing language data, although this tool exponentially expands the amount of information available to researchers interested in situated language use.

The section entitled "Change and Variation in NZE" investigates forms of linguistic variation across the New Zealand speech community, which turn out to be less a function of region than status. Findings of the studies in this section suggest a volatile situation with respect to accent stratification in New Zealand society, pointing more to a continuum of accents than to clear social-class divisions, as found in the more rigidly stratified British society. A recurring debate is evident throughout this volume as to how many distinct varieties of NZE really exist. Some authors accept a three-level classification of accents following an Australian model, while others dispute the applicability of the Australian model to New Zealand's relatively homgeneous speech community. One interesting question raised but not resolved in this volume is the long-standing debate about whether there exists a Maori-English dialect in New Zealand. When asked to identify speakers' ethnic origins, subjects in more than one study in this volume were able to correctly identify Maori speakers only some of the time, with a common error of classifying the speakers of "broad" NZE samples, (usually associated wth lower socio-economic status speakers) as Maori speakers. It is interesting to contrast these inconclusive experimental results with the recent public reaction to two prominent radio and television broadcasters in New Zealand, one Maori and the other Samoan, who have been targets of sustained public criticism for their "inappropriate" accents. Clearly there is some accurate, albeit also negative, identification of ethnic speech styles going on which leaves room for further research on this question.

The mix of linguistic resources available in the mass media as social and cultural forces shaping language use in New Zealand is examined in two studies in this collection, but from different perspectives. Bayard investigates the effect of large doses of American and British media speech as a factor in phonological shift in NZE. According to Bayard, popular music is apparently both an indicator and a catalyst of phonological change, for the study finds that singing on New Zealand airwaves is most often rendered in a simulation of American pronunciation (as evident in vowels and rhotic /r/), while the Cockney glottalized /t/ seems to be finding its way into the NZE dialect through the influence of "punk"-inspired music as well as from numerous British television programs aired in New Zealand.

Also concerned with media language, having extensively researched this topic in New Zealand, Bell takes the perspective that language is embedded in social situations, and thus his study offers a thorough analysis of audience and referee design in the speech of New Zealand news readers and television commercials. His work, which addresses the classic sociolinguistic question of why speakers choose particular language styles in particular situations, concludes that intra-individual variation in newsreaders' styles across a spectrum of radio stations strongly indicates a response to perceived audience characteristics. Television commercials, on the other hand, initiate styles based on absent reference groups associated with the desired target group for the commercial. As in the studies on language attitudes in this volume, Bell found New Zealanders to be more susceptible to advertising persuasion when it comes in the form of non-NZE speech, particularly the upper-class British accent. At the time of his study, Bell also observed that the absence of Maori language in media advertising (and the presence of some European languages) reflected the Maori language's low consumer status in New Zealand society, despite its legal status as an official language of New Zealand. Bell's study of recipient design in the spoken media represents an important step beyond methodology that maps linguistic and social variables onto each other, for it probes the more complicated nature of the relationship between linguistic and contextual indices in language use situations.

Despite this volume being titled *New Zealand Ways of Speaking English*, several of the studies in this collection go beyond this regional focus and use local data to build on previous understandings of interactional sequences and discourse strategies

in the literature, particularly with respect to politeness theories and aspects of gender and language. On the gender question, Holmes takes issue with Robin Lakoff's earlier work (e.g., 1975) on American women's language, which characterized women's use of tag questions and other characteristically female politeness forms as indexing a deferential stance. Holmes instead takes the perspective that the linguistic expression of positive affect (or politeness) is an index of women's concern with creating solidarity and cooperation in their interaction. The studies of both Holmes and Austin also examine politeness from the addressee's point of view, thus bringing to their analyses the interpretive dimension of communication. This is an important departure from the previous focus on intentionality which has characterized research based in speech act theory. As Austin's title, "Politeness Revisited--The Dark Side," hints, this interesting study deconstructs how asymmetries of power are expressed and maintained through politeness exchanges between men and women. Austin constructs a model of "face attack," and bases her analysis on the assumption that the major variable in deciding whether or not to save face is power. Such a perspective conflicts with Brown & Levinson's (1987) consistently face-saving model of how politeness operates in society. Critical to the studies of Austin and Holmes is the dimension of context in making theoretical interpretations of discourse. From this third section of the book a call emerges for a theory which accounts for impoliteness as an everyday interactive strategy and which takes into account the interpretive work that enables meaning and social relationships to be constructed from such exchanges. These studies of language, gender, and politeness thus raise important analytical issues and challenges to perhaps reconsider the adequacy of major pragmatic models, such as Brown & Levinson's (1987) politeness model and Sperber & Wilson's (1986) theory of relevance.

New Zealand Ways of Speaking English has much of interest to offer to applied linguists, ethnographers of communication, and sociolinguists by covering a wide range of topics and theoretical approaches. Some of the studies make for fascinating reading to the eclectic applied linguist (e.g., Kuiper & Austin's analysis of race-calling). And for scholars interested in language change, variation, and dialects of English, this book is certainly an overdue and useful addition to that body of research. But the final section, addressing issues in pragmatics, such as language, politeness and gender, is where I believe this book

makes its most worthy contribution, by suggesting some significant re-framing of established politeness and gender theories. *New Zealand Ways of Speaking English*, true to the editors' introductory promise, gathers together representative and current research from New Zealand, across a wide spectrum of linguistic interests, from phonological and syntactic analysis to pragmatic concerns about language in society. With this ambitious agenda, Bell & Holmes succeed in presenting a very readable and relevant book to the academic community in both hemispheres.

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Individual Differences in Second-Language Learning by Peter Skehan. London: Edward Arnold, 1989. 168 pp.

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While not denying the value of attempting to identify universal processes of second-language acquisition, it is likely that teachers are at least as aware of individual differences (IDs) between

language learners as they are of similarities. It is consequently surprising that the study of IDs in a second-language context has not received more than a fraction of the attention afforded to it in mainstream psychology (where numerous specialist journals reflect both an established and thriving research tradition). In addressing this issue, therefore, *Individual Differences in Second-Language Learning* (*IDSLL*), by Peter Skehan, is not only of substantial practical relevance, but also marks a timely assertion of the importance of this general area of research.

IDSLL begins with an account of IDs within "contemporary" models. For example, Skehan notes that in the "Monitor Model" (e.g., Krashen, 1982), which assumes comparability of processing between individuals, differences become trivial. (It is, as an aside, remarkable that here, and elsewhere, Krashen's model is still taken seriously; after all, Gregg's (1984) incisive and convincing criticism has not been challenged by anyone, least of all Krashen.)

Although other "models" described in *IDSLL* (e.g., the "Good Language Learner" model and the "Carroll model of school learning") are somewhat more generous in their treatment of individual learners than is Krashen's, Skehan nonetheless observes that no fully developed model of IDs within an L2 context is currently available to guide research. He argues, however, (and this is the central theme of the book) that important findings on the role of IDs in language learning do exist and merit greater prominence.

While the effects of a large number of variables (e.g., motivation, learner strategies, cognitive abilities) are reviewed in *IDSLL*, language aptitude is singled out for particular attention. Skehan concludes an extensive history of aptitude test development by noting the current lack of impact (whether practical or theoretical) of such tests in the second-language field. Since Skehan sees aptitude tests as effective sources for the prediction of learning achievement, he takes the view that such neglect is unjustified and undesirable and asserts that "aptitude is at least as important, and usually more important, than any other variable investigated" (p. 38). This view will not be one that is shared by all researchers, but the evidence in support of it is impressively documented.

Less convinced by L2 findings on motivation, Skehan maintains that the direction of causality is still unclear: does success result in motivation or vice versa--or both? That the question can still be seriously asked says something about how far Skehan considers research to have progressed in this area. Skehan is equally unconvinced of the potential impact of research on

consciously controllable learner strategies in which conflicting results and lack of agreement as to methodology make firm conclusions difficult to derive.

Entire chapters having been devoted in *IDSLL* to reviewing aptitude, motivation, and language learning strategies, it is consequently unsatisfactory to find only a single chapter on "Additional Cognitive and Affective Influences" (i.e., extraversion-introversion, risk-taking, intelligence, field dependence "and other cognitive abilities," and anxiety). However, in assigning this minor role to such variables, Skehan is merely following the example set in other major L2 reviews (e.g., Ellis, 1985). In addition, it must be acknowledged that he at least comments on the majority of L2 studies in these areas and subsequently arrives at the generally accepted conclusion that these variables are of little significance in the language learning equation.

It is, however, possible to adopt an entirely different perspective, at least in regard to the personality variables. It can, for instance, be maintained that the virtual writing off of personality from the L2 research agenda results from heeding non-significant findings related to hypotheses which never merited testing in the first place. The much investigated proposal that extraverts should be more proficient language learners than introverts, for example, is not only extremely naive (in the sense that it directs attention to extraversion characteristics which might facilitate language learning but fails to take account of positive, and equally plausible, introversion behaviors), it also cannot be derived from extant theory or the very extensive experimental literature on these variables. Regrettably, however, the totally predictable failure to support the hypothesis has resulted in there being no papers in major L2 journals on personality for almost a decade. *IDSLL* does, however, come close to identifying naivety of hypothesis derivation as the fundamental source of problems for L2 research in this area, but a more critical approach to the literature would have made such a conclusion inevitable.

In general, what is becoming increasingly clear (and is merely exemplified by the weaker sections of *IDSLL*) is that the failure to critically examine individual studies and their assumptions is an extremely serious problem in second-language literature reviews. Such reviews inevitably only satisfy until specialists encounter their own areas. This might, of course, be expected of wide-ranging reviews, and in many disciplines would not matter. However, in applied linguistics, such books are not merely

textbooks; they are also (unfortunately) accorded authoritative state-of-the-art status.

This is demonstrated by the fact that dissertations are often framed through consulting such reviews, and it is normally only after an area is identified that students read the actual studies. The assumption is that the reviewer of the literature will have read the original work (or at least a reliable source on it), and that what is reported impartially but critically describes the findings. By that, I mean no more than that if findings are reported it should be possible to assume they merit reporting (and are not artifacts of methodology flaws, unprincipled data-dredging, and the like).

Books such as *IDSLL* do not guarantee this. Nor can they. Worthwhile review is not only extremely time consuming, but no single scholar can have expertise in more than a fraction of the areas of knowledge forming a discipline (even one as young as applied linguistics).

This point can be illustrated with a single example. Skehan, having cited an investigation showing no positive correlation between extraversion and language achievement, then weighs that finding against that of another study:

> On the other hand, Rossier (1976) found a positive relationship between extroversion and oral fluency . . . but this relationship did not hold up for other proficiency tests. (p. 102) (No further details are given.)

In this statement there is no indication that Rossier's finding might be embedded in a terminally weak study which does not merit such citation; such a conclusion is, however, the inevitable consequence of critical review. Clearly, this point needs to be convincingly demonstrated if it is to sound other than an uncharitable alternative opinion. Therefore, unusual as it may be to place a review within a review, the seriousness of the issue necessitates taking a more detailed look at the Rossier study.

Firstly, from an initial random sample of 96 twelfth grade students in two schools, 49 dropped out before the study even started and 3 more were simply added to make the *n* size 50. As extravert students are more likely to volunteer to participate in research than introverts (Cowles & David, 1987), and as Rossier lost more than half of his initial sample before he started, the resulting sample was not only greatly smaller than originally intended, it also can no longer be described as random. Secondly, the assessment of oral fluency (and the three other criteria:

pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary) was merely estimated by 3 "experienced" teachers from tape recordings (which were used because "It proved to be impossible to bring the judges and the students together for the interview purpose" [Rossier, 1976, p. 68]). The difficulties of defining "fluency" and divorcing it from factors such as pronunciation were tackled in the following way: "The investigator briefed the judges to ensure uniformity of criteria for the judging of each of the components" (p. 69).

Thirdly, the Eysenck Personality Inventory scale which was used had not at that time been factorially validated in Spanish, much less in the 8 countries from which subjects were drawn (Eysenck not only states that it is "imperative that all items be tested for appropriateness before inclusion in any foreign scoring key," she also describes the dangers of "spurious results" if this is not done [Eysenck, 1983, p. 381])

What of the results? Preliminary correlations showed there was "no significant correlation between the total oral language production of ex-ESL students in their final semester in high school and their ratings on the Extraversion-Introversion Scale of the Eysenck Personality Inventory" (Rossier, 1975, p. 74). Furthermore, "There is no significant correlation between the scores of each of the four components of oral language production of ex-ESL students in their final semester in high school and their rating on the E-I scale of the EPI" (p. 74).

Subsequently, after the "major research hypothesis" had "failed to show significant correlation between extraversion-introversion and oral language production," Rossier resorted to partial correlations controlling for single variables. Even then, "none of the correlations were high enough to reach significance" (p. 81). It was only after extensive data dredging of partial correlations with control of multiple variables that Rossier arrived at his much quoted finding of a relationship between extraversion and "fluency."

The analysis is a lengthy one, but it is necessary if we are to be able to say something about the credibility of *IDSLL* (at least with respect to the reporting of this particular study and, if you will, more generally). Unfortunately, as the example illustrates, inadvertent deception is likely to be a prominent feature of reviews which fail to provide information of this sort. Clearly, the individual reader is done no service when a review does not provide the essential detail with which it is possible to distinguish competent from incompetent research. Likewise, the discipline is done a severe disservice by the

reviewer who gives equal weight to relatively sound experimentation and that which is massively flawed. That the practice is endemic in second-language reviews is no reason for our continuing to accept it.

None of this is to say that *IDSLL* is not in many ways a good book. It is clear, often incisive, and demonstrates a considerable depth and breadth of knowledge. It is also, in a number of areas, extremely impressive. The chapter on methodological considerations contains excellent introductions to such matters as questionnaire construction, factor analysis, and regression analysis; the chapter on language aptitude is also extremely detailed and convincing; the chapter calling for more studies of interactions is most welcome, and even in the areas criticized above, this is still probably the best available introduction to the field. However, in attempting too much, much is lost.

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The Video Connection: Integrating Video into Language Teaching by Rick Altman. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1989. 184 pp.

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Most foreign language teachers, according to Rick Altman in *The Video Connection*, are not yet aware of the resources and exciting advantages of videotaped teaching materials. Currently, although interest is growing, curriculum developers, materials developers, and teachers have been slow to supplement other materials with video. There is a need for more information about what materials are available, how to integrate them into the curriculum, and what to do with them in the classroom. *The Video Connection* provides this information within the overall goal of Altman's video pedagogy, which is to make video serve a wide range of educational purposes. In Altman's view, video is one medium among others which can be integrated into the curriculum and syllabus.

In Part I, "General Principles," Altman discusses in three chapters the implications of language acquisition theory and basic methodological principles for the use of video in the classroom. Although this part of *The Video Connection* has some weaknesses, which will be discussed below, overall, the book provides a wealth of practical suggestions based on the author's own experience and that of other pedagogues. These range from "Teaching with Video" (Part II), which deals with implementing video for teaching different skills at different proficiency levels, both inside and outside the class, to other "Practical Considerations" (Part III), which introduces teachers to legal information pertaining to video and which helps them understand the hardware and technology of the VCR as well as other sources of video materials.

Altman claims to have developed a new "pedagogy" or "methodology" based on video, yet the core of this teacher's reference book would more appropriately be described as a set of techniques embedded in a discussion of some theoretical and methodological issues. Altman's "video pedagogy" is in alignment with what Larsen-Freeman (1986, p. 109) refers to as "the comprehension approach," a term which Larsen-Freeman applies to

all approaches that concentrate on comprehension as the essence of language learning in its initial stages. So it is not surprising that Altman advocates Asher's technique of Total Physical Response (TPR) (Asher, 1977) and subscribes to Krashen's Monitor Theory (Krashen, 1985; Krashen & Terrell, 1983). Altman's support of TPR, however, is contradictory to his postulation that language should be learned in context. TPR is, after all, merely a revival of traditional drill exercises in which language is devoid of its natural context. It is doubtful whether there is a place in the real world outside the TPR classroom, except perhaps the military, in which native speakers command each other to "sit down," "stand up," and "drop the elephant" repetitively and without any politeness markers. Moreover, Altman's description of Monitor Theory is disappointingly simplistic from a second language acquisition researcher's point of view because it deals with only one single hypothesis from a set of hypotheses which, combined, constitute Krashen's Monitor Theory. And, whereas the Monitor Theory may be widely accepted among teachers, it has not found wide acceptance among researchers in second language acquisition (e.g., Takala, 1982; Gregg, 1984). The Monitor Theory thus provides a rather weak theoretical basis for a teaching methodology.

Notwithstanding these critical remarks, however, I find Altman's clear and comprehensible introduction to schema theory an invaluable contribution. His discussion of schema theory is all the more laudable because he follows through with appropriate suggestions for classroom teaching. Schema theory claims that the process of comprehension includes an interaction between the text at hand and the subject's own prior accumulation and organization of knowledge (e.g., Carrell, 1983). It is important to activate prior knowledge in order to ensure that the learner invokes an appropriate context for the ensuing topic of discussion. Altman describes a variety of previewing activities designed to achieve this goal. Before showing a videotaped weather forecast in a lower-level language course, for example, Altman suggests preparing learners for the difference between Celsius and Fahrenheit scales, unfamiliar weather expressions or unfamiliar names of cities, bodies of water, and geographic regions. This preparation, he recommends, can be done by discussing a newspaper weather page to bridge the gap between the learners' knowledge and the knowledge needed to understand the weather forecast on video.

Integrating video materials into the curriculum for Altman means concerted, program-wide decisions regarding the amount,

type, and location of video programs to be used. Curriculum designers are advised to integrate video materials into their larger educational planning as a way of attaining broader educational objectives. Rather than having, say, one video day a week, Altman maintains that video can support any grammatical or cultural topic as well as contextualize grammar and vocabulary by embedding language in a relatively natural context. For this reason, authentic videos are preferred by Altman. The key to finding time for video, for Altman, lies in using short video segments which supplement other materials. He also stresses that video materials must be chosen not primarily for their inherent artistic value but for their ability to fulfill a particular function in a particular course. Finally, Altman points out that the role of the teacher is to foster lively interaction with the video program because even the best book on methodology and the best teaching materials will not work if a teacher is not enthusiastic about the materials.

The strength of Altman's book lies in its wealth of concrete suggestions for teachers. A wide variety of exercises and recommended class procedures address the need voiced by many teachers for such guidance. These activities are explained clearly, and a multitude of examples based on actual videos are laid out. Even a teacher faced with a grammar-driven curriculum can find a great number of relevant activities. A teacher preparing a grammatical unit on the imperative, for example, is advised to introduce this topic by means of videotaped advertisements. After students have been exposed to the usage of this form, class activity can be devoted to getting them to produce the imperative form by creating their own advertisements. The wide range of exercises suggested by Altman includes using video inside and outside of class (for institutions with a separate video laboratory); individual viewing, group viewing, and small-group viewing; preparatory activities, follow-up activities, audio exercises with the video sound track, and cloze exercises; testing with video; video in lower-level language classes; special-purpose language courses at the upper level; video produced by students to interact with an exchange class in the target language.

Altman also calls for cooperation among language and non-language departments, even beyond the campus, in order to exchange teaching experiences and coordinate fundraising. Given this appeal to all teachers to cooperate, I wish that *The Video Connection* had included a greater variety of languages in the examples and list of sources, which come mainly from Spanish,

French, German, and occasionally from Italian and Russian. Although the forms of exercises can easily be adapted for use with other foreign languages, such as Chinese or Japanese, the book would attract and serve a broader audience if Altman had included a greater variety of target languages. Furthermore, although the subtitle of the book, *Integrating Video Into Language Teaching*, implies the teaching of all languages, no materials from the ESL/EFL domain are included. This is all the more surprising given that the international organization of Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) has a separate interest group for teaching with video.

Nevertheless, novices to video will find the glossary of acronyms and technical terms useful; in addition, a list of distributors of video programs, a selected bibliography, and an index provide practical information. An especially informative feature of *The Video Connection* is its up-to-date report of the rapid technological development in the realm of combining video, videodisc, and computer. Although a request form for a 30-minute demonstration video (at a cost of only $5) is found at the very end of the book, to the reviewer's regret, the publisher did not submit this video for review, so no comment can be made.

Altman succeeds in presenting a helpful pool of advice for video-illiterate but "video-willing" foreign language teachers as well as for video-literate teachers seeking support and new ideas. In all, I highly recommend this practical and carefully compiled book to teachers, materials developers, and curriculum designers.

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Teaching and Learning Vocabulary by I.S.P. Nation. New York: Newbury House, 1990. 275 pp.

Reviewed by
David H. Leech
University of California, Los Angeles

In the recent past, pedagogical attention to vocabulary learning as a basic learner need for communicative language learning has too often been lacking. However, this situation may be reversed as teaching absorbs the increasing flow of information from research on the development of L2 lexicon (e.g., Laufer, 1986, forthcoming; Haastrup, 1987; Palmberg, 1987; Meara, 1984), on lexical-semantic relations in text (e.g., Li, 1988; White, 1988), and on the possible pedagogical applications of this research (e.g., Robinson, 1988; Sinclair & Renouf, 1988). I.S.P. Nation's *Teaching and Learning Vocabulary* is primarily composed of the familiar products of mainstream vocabulary teaching of past decades. However, it is mainly limited to recapitulating that experience, despite Nation's concern with linking instruction and recent scholarship. Viewed in this light, the book should be considered both a summation and a sign of a pedagogical tradition awaiting fresh input from the perspectives of contemporary theoretical and applied research.

Teaching and Learning Vocabulary is both a teacher-training primer and a field manual. Its first five chapters present an introduction to (and thus provide a working knowledge of) vocabulary learning/teaching issues: the means and ends of teaching vocabulary, a discussion of the acquisition of lexical items, what is meant by "communicating meaning" in the classroom, and procedural guides for measuring learners' foreign-language lexicon and for assessing textbooks' vocabulary frequencies. Sections devoted to application, with exercises for the instructor-in-training, appear at the end of each chapter.

Chapters Six through Nine are concerned with vocabulary teaching and the skills of listening, speaking, reading, and writing. This conventional approach to dividing up the skill areas certainly provides a familiar organization for the teacher who may be searching for particular guidance on teaching technique. Indeed, practical skill-specific suggestions are presented which deal with preliminary assessment of learner needs and the construction of appropriate teaching materials. Nation's consistent use of explanatory figures and sample exercises casts these practical presentations in the same "hands-on," teacher-in-the-field format as the rest of the book. One aspect of this section of the book which requires amendment in later editions, however, is the placement of exercises for one skill in a chapter on some other skill. For example, an exercise is suggested in which learners listen to native speakers and try to match the words and definitions they hear to pictures (p. 105), yet this exercise is presented in the chapter on "Vocabulary and Speaking." A similar problem is evident in the same chapter in which a confusingly worded exercise is suggested: learners are "given a word and four of its collocations. They write four sentences for each pair" (p. 101). Perhaps these exercises simply need to be extended so that a bridge from active reception to active production is clearly provided. Finally, the chapter on "Vocabulary and Writing" is too short and undeveloped to appeal to a composition teacher, but given the lack of research on acquisition and use of vocabulary knowledge in writing, this is understandable.

Diverging temporarily from a teacher's perspective, Nation includes a useful chapter (Chapter Ten) on "Learner Strategies," which is a consideration of meta-cognitive techniques to help learners expand and retain vocabulary--guessing word meanings from context, memorization devices such as the "key" method, and learning productive morphology--techniques which foster learner independence, an important but nonetheless under-represented consideration in *Learning and Teaching Vocabulary.*

Chapter Eleven cogently discusses a rationale for and methods of text simplification. To be sure, Nation values memorization of vocabulary lists as one among other possible strategies, but throughout the book other thoughtful and promising alternatives are presented. The most significant among these are exercises which call for vocabulary manipulations according to semantic structures and associations/collocations. Lexical syllabi can and should naturally involve the learning of syntax and communicative language use; this is implied and sometimes

demonstrated in Nation's book. On the other hand, most of the suggested activities still remain isolated from a broader, more communicative context which the classroom calls for. Perhaps it would be wise when actually applying the suggestions in *Teaching and Learning Vocabulary* to expect that effort will be necessary to incorporate newly learned vocabulary into a wider and certainly for the EFL classroom, an ultimately communicative context. In Chapter Twelve, a departure from the pedagogical objectives of the rest of the book, Nation briefly recounts the research into vocabulary and vocabulary learning. In addition to an exhaustive bibliography, Nation includes eight useful appendices, which range from word lists and example teaching texts to vocabulary puzzles and a "vocabulary levels test."

An association of vocabulary teaching with list-like syllabi, (e.g., sequences of grammar structures and rhetorical functions) may well account for some of the contemporary disaffection with teaching vocabulary per se in the classroom. Yet, recent work which has constructed learner vocabulary syllabi by analysing computer-generated lists for frequency, salient contextual meanings, and usage has gone far in demonstrating that the incorporation of a vocabulary-centered curriculum may not only be wise it may be indispensibly efficient (Sinclair & Renouf, 1988; Phillips, 1985). General departures from data-based course content, perhaps most clearly evident in the task-based approach (e.g., Long, 1989), have had the unfortunate consequence of retarding the process by which results from classroom trials of new pedagogical materials based on research in vocabulary learning inform both pedagogical and basic research. Basic research on the lexicon has also been retarded by the predominance of a theoretical linguistics-inspired, syntax-centered paradigm as well as perhaps by the common notion that acquisition of lexical-semantic structures is too complex to deal with in a sufficiently scientific way (Laufer, 1986; Meara, 1984). Yet given the promising nature of recent research on both L1 and L2 lexical acquisition and use (e.g., White, 1988; Meara, 1984) the emergence of plausible classroom applications of that research is sure to develop further. However, Nation's summative presentation of research includes some, but not enough, of the contributions of relative types of cognitive studies (e.g., Tyler & Nagy, 1990; Channell, 1988; Pressley et al., 1987; Zimmerman & Schneider, 1987), text-linguistics studies (e.g., Robinson, 1988; Phillips, 1985), and the work on the Birmingham Corpus and the COBUILD project (Sinclair & Renouf, 1988; Sinclair, 1987).

The mix of traditional pedagogy with new findings from research in I.S.P. Nation's *Teaching and Learning Vocabulary* partially satisfies the need for a practical manual for constructing vocabulary syllabi at any level, particularly for TEFL/TESL teacher training programs. As a teaching resource, the book can be recommended both to new and experienced English language instructors as a useful guide for supplementing an existing curriculum. It would also be helpful to those engaged in building a needs-based vocabulary program from the ground up. Perhaps it is not surprising that Nation's book should have appeared only recently and that it should be what it is: an up-to-date yet unmatured blend of traditional and experimental vocabulary pedagogy (the result being a retention of some familiar problems--i.e., lack of communicative practice and contextualization) and a much-needed summation for the language teacher of what is known and, by implication, what is not yet known about vocabulary learning and teaching. Nation's book makes a start in incorporating new and old wisdom about vocabulary teaching, but it thereby fails to satisfy the ultimate need: effective vocabulary instruction based on an adequate knowledge of how vocabulary acquisition actually takes place and how the lexicon is actually used.

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Interaction: Language and Science by Terry L. Powell. Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman & Co., 1990. 290 pp.

Reviewed by
Charlene Polio
University of California, Los Angeles

Interaction: Language and Science, by Terry L. Powell, is not a book on the discourse of science, as one might expect from its title. It is actually a reading textbook for students of English for Science and Technology (EST). Two criteria relevant to evaluating such a textbook are the extent to which the author has responded to schema theory and attended to material authenticity. While the book

does not rate high with regard to these criteria, it nevertheless does have some value, though, unfortunately, for only a very limited range of students.

The book is divided into six thematic groupings: biology, energy, statistics and economics, computers, tools, and new technology. Each grouping contains several units each of which revolves around a passage of approximately 500 words. Totalling thirty in all, these units are organized in an identical way and, as the author suggests in the preface, need not be taught sequentially. Each unit begins with a "Before You Read" section that asks the students to preview a reading passage by examining its title, subtitles, and figures. In the passage which follows, all technical terms, those specific to the subject, appear in bold print, while a list of what Powell calls "subtechnical terms" (i.e., "words that are common to a wide variety of scientific books") are defined at the end of the passage. After each reading passage is a section called "Understanding Vocabulary" which includes exercises on the technical and subtechnical vocabulary as well as exercises on relevant word parts. The next two sections are "Using Information," consisting of tasks which have the students scan and organize information from the passage, and "Understanding Structure," containing explanations of and practice with grammar that is supposedly common in scientific and technological writing. The book ends with an answer key and a glossary of all the subtechnical vocabulary.

The pre-reading exercises at the start of each unit are certainly consistent with reading schema theory, which holds that if a reader has certain expectations about a text prior to actually reading, he or she will understand that text more easily than if background knowledge was not activated in advance (Carrell & Eisterhold, 1983). Clearly, previewing skills are useful, and therefore taught in many ESL reading textbooks (e.g., Casanave, 1986; Latulippe, 1987). However, as Carrell & Eisterhold also note, previewing involves not only looking over a passage but also teaching a concept or raising an issue relevant to the passage. Content schemata, in fact, have been shown to be more important to comprehension than formal schemata (Carrell, 1987). Yet Powell has no exercises to orient a reader unfamiliar with a particular topic. One explanation for this oversight may be an assumption on the author's part that students already possess the appropriate background knowledge. Still, some content orientation exercises would likely benefit many students, especially undergraduates just

starting out in science and technology.

The passages themselves, because they are not acknowledged, appear to have been written specifically for this textbook. They resemble excerpts from technical textbooks as opposed to academic journal articles, which further suggests hat the supposed audience for this book is a student at the early stages of a scientific education. Nevertheless, many of the topics are relevant primarily to an engineering major, as is the case in the unit on the internal combustion engine and the one on control systems. However, Powell notes that any non-scientist can easily teach from the book, in part because all the field-specific technical words (e.g., spark plugs, isotope, hypothalmus, bellows, nebula) are defined in the clearly and simply written passages.

The subtechnical vocabulary defined at the end of each passage appears to be a good representation of words used across scientific and technical fields, although there is no indication what Powell's source is for determining this class of vocabulary. Some researchers have claimed that such a subtechnical vocabulary exists and indeed may cause difficulties for EST students (e.g., Trimble, 1985). The vocabulary tasks that follow are standard multiple-choice and fill-in-the-blank exercises.

The exercises in the "Understanding Information" sections are more innovative, however. In addition to scanning exercises, many units have students organize information from the passage using charts and tables. These information transfer exercises provide the students with an alternative to outline writing, a type of exercise which is often cumbersome and which rarely works well with short passages. Together with these kind of exercises, which help students extract meaningful information from the texts, there are also several thought-provoking discussion questions that ask the students to relate what they have read to real-world knowledge.

Finally, while the grammar sections provide a useful review of what might be troublesome linguistic structures for intermediate students, the exercises are rather mechanical and uninspired. The explanations cover, for example, passives, noun compounds, infinitives of purpose, connectors showing contrast, and clause reduction, all of which are used (and not overused) by Powell in the passages. However, research has not conclusively determined whether these features are actually more common in scientific writing than in other types of discourse. Furthermore, whether grammatical exercises focusing on such points will actually improve a student's reading ability is an open question.

How this book relates to authenticity of reading materials for EST is worthy of discussion. Clearly, the passages are non-authentic in that they are not taken from any source nor do they appear to have been adapted. Powell must believe that some aspects of authenticity are important, however, for he states that he has tried to use grammatical structures and the lexicon of science in the passages. Why then did he not choose passages from actual scientific texts? While he does not say, it might be that having decided on a length limit for the passages (for reasons also not explained), Powell found that collecting a set of self-contained passages of this length was too difficult.

But despite Powell's orientation to the authenticity of grammar and lexicon, Phillips & Shettlesworth (1987) have claimed that syntax and lexis are not necessarily the most important elements in controlling written discourse. They stress that what the text is used for as an activity is more important for fostering authenticity. And thus, perhaps the test of a book such as this is whether it has students use the passages as a scientist, or at least a science undergraduate, might actually use them. To his credit, Powell does ask students to apply the information from the passages to new situations, forcing them to go beyond mere decoding and comprehension. However, because the passages are so short, it seems it would be difficult to simulate in the classroom what science majors or scientists actually do with readings in their field.

Does such a textbook, then, have a place among authentic materials in an EST class? Brinton et al. (1989), in their discussion of content-based materials, argue for supplementing authentic materials with commercial textbooks. However, they warn "that these materials be selected carefully for their relevance to course objectives" (p. 92). Given the discussion above, it seems that this type of non-authentic text, even if not ideal, could be beneficial as a supplementary textbook for improving vocabulary and reading fluency.

With this caution in mind, for what types of learners and course can this book be used? The preface describes the book as an intermediate-level text for ESL or EFL students "who are planning to be specialists in a scientific or technical field" and who "need to read and understand technical textbooks and source materials." Yet, with the exception of a few units, the book is not appropriate for a general university EST class because of its many engineering and economics passages, although it may be useful for a class population in a technical or engineering school with a more restricted

range of majors. Certain sections of the book would be relevant to the needs and interests of ESL learners in particular specialized academic disciplines, for example, the biology section to biologists or the economics section to economists. But how often does a general ESL/EST teacher have only biology or only economics students? In a mixed EST class, a biology student would probably not want to read about an internal combustion engine, nor would an economics student want to read about biomes and food webs. And even with a specialized class population, most teachers would not ask their students to purchase a book from which only a limited number of units will be exploited. However, Powell also states that the book can be used for self-study, and therefore could be a worthwhile addition to a learning lab where students could choose those sections of the book they were interested in.

A major flaw of this book is its misleading title which does not suggest that it is a reading textbook but seems, rather, to imply that the book is about the language of science. Furthermore, most people think of "science" as biology, chemistry, and physics, not engineering and economics. And finally, the word "interaction" is used in the title because, according to Powell, reading is an interactive process and the student must be actively involved with the text, the teacher, and other students. However, with the exception of the discussion questions, the contrary is true about the approach to reading taken by the book: *Interaction: Language and Science* is a better book for self-study because for most of the exercises the teacher and other students need not be involved. If the discussion questions are not used, there is little "interaction" with the text.

In sum, *Interaction: Language and Science* is well organized, clear, and contains some apparently beneficial exercises. However, it is probably less useful for a mixed university EST class and more relevant to a group of students at a technical or engineering school. Given the right population of learners, then, the book is appropriate for either self-study or as supplemental material in a reading class, but not as the principal text in an EST class.

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ERRATA

In Volume 1, Number 1 of *Issues in Applied Linguistics* (June, 1990):

The name of Zeinab A. El-Naggar was inadvertently left off the list of Charter Subscribers on page iii.

In Volume 1, Number 2 of *Issues in Applied Linguistics* (December, 1990):

1. In the Special Feature Roundtable, the following corrections should be noted:

-On page 145, in the second paragraph, the second sentence should read: "Fourteen responses to our call for contributions were received from Europe, *the Middle East*, and North and South America, from students and faculty, men and women, applied linguists and interested others."

-On page 152, in the introductory paragraph to Section II, "co-existing" (line 8) was inadvertently misspelled, and the word "distinct" (line 12) should have been deleted.

-On page 154, Prof. Slama-Cazacu's affiliation should have been the Laboratory of Psycholinguistics at the University of Bucharest, and not, as printed, the Department of Philology.

-On page 165, the biographical information about Prof. Slama-Cazacu should also have included that she is the President of the Romanian Association of Applied Linguistics.

2. In the article by Juan Carlos Gallego, "The Intelligibility of Three Nonnative English-Speaking Teaching Assistants: An Analysis of Student-Reported Communication Breakdowns," the following corrections should be noted:

-The table titled "Speaking Performance Scale for UCLA Oral Proficiency Test for Nonnative TAs," which begins on page 236, should have appeared under the heading "Appendix A."

-The Note at the bottom (page 237) of this Appendix should have read: "Results claimed in this article using an adapted testing instrument should in no way be construed as confirming or denying the validity of the original test on which it was based, or as possessing any validity of the original test."

The Editors apologize for these oversights.

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